Volume 27, No. 1 Spring Number, 1938

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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SUMMER MEETING FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE SUMMER MEETING of the Friends' Historical Association was held on the afternoon and evening of Saturday, May 14, 1938, at the Wilmington Friends' School, Alapocas Drive, near Wilmington, Delaware, in conjunction with a celebration by Wilmington Friends of the two hundredth anniversary of the establishment of Wilmington Friends' Meeting in 1738. For once the weather was unfavorable, and the very large crowd was disappointed in not being able to eat the box suppers about the spacious grounds of the School, which many had never seen before. However, the large auditorium accommodated all the spectators comfortably; the principal drawback to coming indoors to escape the rain was the fact that the historical pageants which had been prepared were adapted in the plans to an out-of-doors stage, and the participants felt cramped, though to the spectators all appeared to be as it should be.

The program for Saturday is printed herewith; the anniversary celebration as planned by Wilmington Friends included also a commemorative meeting in the Friends' Meeting House at Fourth and West Streets on the following morning.

Program

AFTERNOON MEETING

Fifth Month 14, 1938—2.45 P. M.—At the Friends' School

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

John M. Mendinhall, Chairman of the General Committee of Wilmington Friends.

HISTORICAL PAGEANT OF WILMINGTON FRIENDS' MEETING

Members of the Meeting, First-day School, and Friends' School.

Episode I: Elizabeth Shipley's Dream and Her Visit to Wilmington, 1735.

Episode II: Scene from the First Friends' School, 1748.

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Episode III: First-day Meeting, Eighth Month, 1777.
Episode IV: The Female Benevolent Society, 1800.
Episode V: Thomas Garrett becomes an Abolitionist, about 1813.
Episode VI: The Social Lyceum, Second Month 3, 1873.
Episode VII: The Meeting and First-day School Carry On, 1868-1938.
Conclusion: Singing of "The Hymn of All Nations" by all present.

ADDRESS: OUR LINK IN THE QUAKER CHAIN
William W. Comfort, President of Friends' Historical Association.

Supper

EVENING MEETING

Fifth Month 14, 1938—7 P. M.—At the Friends' School

Chairman, William W. Comfort

RETROSPECT OF WILMINGTON FRIENDS
W. Ralph Gawthrop, Wilmington, Delaware.

JOHN DICKINSON, 1732-1808, QUAKER SIGNER OF THE CONSTITUTION
John H. Powell, State University of Iowa.

THOMAS GARRETT, 1789-1871, QUAKER ABOLITIONIST
Thomas E. Drake, Haverford College.

The addresses delivered at these meetings will be published by the Wilmington Monthly Meetings in an illustrated commemorative volume, and we do not therefore print them in the BULLETIN. The plans as announced promise a notable memorial, in which historically-minded Friends may well be interested. The addresses given at the celebration will form only an incidental part of the whole, which will contain monographs on The Beginings of Quakerism in Delaware, Quaker Education in Wilmington, Quaker Philanthropies, John Dickinson as a revolutionary character, the history of the meeting house, weddings, genealogies, and burials associated with the meetings in the past, and other matters—in all fifteen chapters, in some 300 pages, with twenty or more illustrations, to be bound in cloth. Henry Seidel Canby, who attended the Wilmington Friends School, contributes a reminiscent chapter entitled "Friends School As I Knew It in the Nineties"; and there will be an account of the two hundredth anniversary celebration itself. Friends who would like to secure a copy should send $2.00 (which includes delivery) to Howard W. Starkweather, 815 Augusta Road, Wilmington, Delaware.

QUAKERISM IN CUBA

By May Mather Jones*

BANANAS, sugarcane, "Remember the Maine", the United Fruit Company, the Spanish-American war—one can begin with any one of these and easily arrive at Cuba Yearly Meeting of Friends. It is said that Gurney and other Friends visited the island of Cuba in early days, but the interest of Friends in the United States for the people of Cuba in modern times dates from soon after the Spanish-American war, which naturally brought Cuba strongly to the attention both of financial interests which quickened their already fairly rapid pace of entrance into the island to exploit her rich natural resources, and of religious bodies, which hastened to her shores with a message of Christian love, stirred by tales of spiritual destitution and material need.

Friends had already for a number of years been working in the neighboring island of Jamaica, of which Zenas L. Martin, of Iowa Yearly Meeting was superintendent. There, Captain Baker, head of the United Fruit Company, was a loyal supporter of Friends' missions. Seated together on the deck one day during a return voyage from Jamaica, Captain Baker and Zenas Martin could sight the green palm groves of Cuba in the distance. The Captain described the spiritual destitution and ignorance of the people and urged that Friends should start meetings in Cuba near the banana plantations he was planning to set out in Cuba in the near future, promising financial aid such as he had given in Jamaica. Several Yearly Meetings immediately became interested and in November, 1900, only two years after the close of the war with Spain, a group of Friends sailed for Cuba, and began work in Oriente province. This was the first mission administered by the newly organized American Friends Board of Foreign Missions as such. About the same time another group of Friends started work in the western end of Cuba, later becoming affiliated with the Board.

* This article forms a continuation of the series of articles on Quakerism in different countries of the world, which has been running through the last few numbers of the Bulletin.

TRUE to Friendly ideals, education has been emphasized from the beginning with an elementary school in connection with each Friends' meeting of any size. The Friends High School at Holguin has for a number of years held a high place in the esteem of the entire region, which appreciates the emphasis placed on character building and real scholarship. This is evidenced by the present enrollment of 305 students. Three new departments recently added, domestic science, manual training and training in Christian leadership, are already proving their value, the latter promising to overcome one of the greatest weaknesses in the past, a step long overdue. The school at Banes, almost as large in enrollment, but with very inadequate buildings, has recently, by faith as it were, because of the urgent need, put in high-school courses, and in addition undertaken the preparation of a group of young men and women who have volunteered to carry the Friendly message to at least five rural communities, in each of which a meeting, a school, and a social center will be undertaken with local co-operation, such as gifts of land and volunteer work in the erection of a building. This work is to be financed by Banes Meeting, until local support can be built up, partly by the proceeds of a co-operative bakery carried on by members of the Meeting. Recently they have organized a co-operative bank as well. The schools at Puerto Padre and Gibara are also taking forward steps.

Each meeting now has a Woman's Society, the work of which is proving of great value, pioneering in efficient methods of relief for the needy, health instruction, temperance education, and prevention of disease.

As young Friends grew up, the young meetings grew stronger and Friendly institutions developed; and as a logical evolution from the semiofficial Annual Conferences, Cuba Yearly Meeting of Friends was finally organized and now is one of the youngest of the younger yearly meetings. It is already becoming more aware of its own identity, with a growing understanding of its mission and a readiness to take its place among the yearly meetings of the world. Duly incorporated, it has begun to require property and undertake projects, such as rural extension work, the supervision of its schools, and the training of leadership. It

now has its own constitution and discipline (in the Spanish language) in printed form. The members are learning to refer to its pages for guidance. The sending of two delegates to the Five Years Meeting, Ramon Morrel and Miguel Tamayo, directors of the Friends' schools of Holguin and Banes, respectively, marked an epoch in Cuba Yearly Meeting. Their hearty reception by Friends and reports in returning home stimulated an interest and a feeling of fellowship with the world family of yearly meetings.

Three Friends from Cuba are planning to attend the World Conference next September.* One of the delegates, Cesar Ortiz, is a member of the faculty of Holguin Friends School, a lawyer and sometime judge of the municipal court; another is Ramiro Diaz, at present a student at Earlham College; the third, Juan Sierra, student of the School of Engineering, of the University of Havana, and pastor at Gibara, Cuba. They will come prepared by their own vital experiences in Christian living as Friends in Cuba to make a real contribution to the common treasury of Friendly truth. Cuba Yearly Meeting will be officially initiated, as it were, into the world family of Friends at the World Conference. May she receive a hearty welcome!

QUAKERS AND THEIR ABETTORS MIDDLESEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS, 1663

By Henry J. Cadbury

ALTHOUGH the Quaker persecutions in colonial Massachusetts were fully recorded by the Quakers themselves, their opponents kept no comparable narratives and the official documents have survived only sporadically, even the court minutes in many cases being now lost. For that reason it may be instructive to print in full a collection of papers surviving from the Middlesex County Court, all pertaining to Quaker cases that belong to the sitting of October 6, 1663. With the exceptions noted below they appear never to have been published. The Cambridge Historical Society has lately secured a typewritten

*This article was written before the Friends' World Conference of 1937 had occurred.

The meetings, which later were to form Cuba Yearly Meeting of Friends, developed in a period which inherited tremendous religious, social, economic, and political problems. At the close of the Spanish-American war, the incidence of illiteracy was near 75% ; of illegitimacy 49% ; there was no public school system; a decadent state Catholic church, with a sad record of spiritual neglect by mercenary foreign priesthood, was in complete control; the Bible was prohibited by law; marriage and burial were a legal Catholic monopoly; gambling, government lotteries, prostitution, cock-fights, etc., were an index of prevalent immorality.

Political domination and exploitation by Spain was replaced to a large degree by that of the United States, aided and abetted by a group of Cuban politicians, those of better sentiments being too timid and inexperienced to take the lead in national affairs. As the financial penetration by foreign capital proceeded apace, sugarcane replaced bananas in the United Fruit Company's estates and thousands of acres of adjacent land have been acquired by corporations. Two of the largest sugar mills of the world were erected in the immediate vicinity of Friends. All this involved the evils of absentee landlordism, as the displacement of small farmers by immense plantations owned by foreign capital and the importation of cheap labor from Haiti and Jamaica. The new central railroad diverted coastwise trade from port towns, bearing stagnation and consequent unemployment in its wake in towns where Friends were located, except Holguin, which on the whole benefited commercially. The fields of public utilities, banking, railways, shipping, etc., were also invaded by foreign capital, which in many industries was able to sap the economic lifeblood of the nation.

Under the American Intervention, a public school system was inaugurated, church and state separated, civil marriage and burial made legal, freedom of worship declared, limited by the Platt Amendment. But centuries of inexperience and forced non-participation in civil affairs under Spain, made progress feeble and slow and continued exploitation easy.

IN SUCH a situation, Friends who went to Cuba in 1900 with a Friendly message, began to hold meetings for worship and

religious teaching, established Bible schools, started day-schools, organized young people's groups. The future members of Cuba Yearly Meeting of Friends, with no Friendly traditions or heritage back of them, practically all of them children or young people under twenty-five years of age, had to lift themselves up and out of this situation bodily, as it were, depending on God alone, since the communities in which they lived and most of their relatives and friends were unsympathetic, and in some cases hostile. Several who eventually became ministers and today occupy positions of leadership began as thoughtless participants in groups throwing stones and shouting under the windows of the meeting house to disturb the meeting. One by one they heard and answered the call "Follow me" and took their stand as Christians and Friends, building up a heritage and standards of faith in God, integrity of life, and Christian culture all their own to bequeath to their children. "Convinced Friends" in a literal and true sense, they have been ready to uphold the testimonies of Friends in a very vital way, as regards temperance, integrity, racial and sex equality, education, home life, and opposition to war. As happens elsewhere, they were more Friendly than many birthright Friends.

When revolutionary warfare broke out, Friends took no part, but served as peacemakers, as witness Miguel Tamayo, Quaker mayor of Banes. When further warfare threatened, Friends risked and lost their means of livelihood by refusing to promise to fight in support of the government. "No, I am a Friend. Therefore I cannot fight on any side," was the reply. They and their children, in some cases, literally almost starved in consequence. Those who were cigar makers by trade rolled cigars month after month, but quit smoking. Others went farther and gave up this occupation for conscience' sake, with no other work in prospect. A young married man quit smoking and buying lottery tickets and proudly used the money to buy a home for his growing family instead.

Each meeting has a Young Friends Group, where they train themselves for leadership in the meetings. For eight years they have held an Annual Convention of Young Friends at Gibara. This has proven so beneficial that the one-week conference is to be extended to two weeks in conjunction with a Ministers' Institute.

copy of the earliest minute book (1649-1663). It has also supervised and encouraged a project of the Works Progress Administration by which the thousands of miscellaneous papers belonging to the court long have been examined, numbered, and arranged. Through the kindness of my colleague, Professor J. H. Beale of the Harvard Law School, I have been able to use the typewritten transcript of the minutes. I have also verified them by the originals and have examined the loose papers at the Court House in Cambridge through the courtesy of Mr. Frederic L. Putnam, Clerk of Courts, and his assistants.

The minor papers—of which a sample is reproduced in facsimile—make a very interesting exhibit which it would be hard to match elsewhere. For most trials of Friends even in English courts a less full account is available, or at least less full accounts have been published. In this instance in addition to the papers given it would have been possible to supply from the originals the summonses sent in advance to the constables of the towns of Malden (No. 2232), Watertown (2233), Charlestown (2236), Concord (2237), Cambridge (2250), Sudbury (2255), and Marlboro (2262), informing them of the duty of the freemen to elect members for the jury of trials, of their duty to warn certain persons to appear, etc., with the constable's report on the back.

In the period under consideration the court sat four times a year, alternating between Cambridge (April and October) and Charlestown (June and December). The recorder in whose hand the minutes are written was Thomas Danforth, who also appears on the papers, once as "T. D. R." Beside the magistrates on the bench there was regularly a Jury of Trials and a Grand Jury.

Of the accused persons Elizabeth Hooton (here spelled Howton, and in non-Quaker histories mostly Horton, following Hutchinson's error) is well known as the first woman preacher among Friends. Her own manuscript record of her experiences, first printed in 1915 in Emily Manners's biography of her, was the basis of the account in George Bishop's *New England Judged*, Second Part, 1666, which in turn was used by Sewel and Besse. The original manuscript is mentioned and used in John Whiting's answer to Cotton Mather in 1702. The minute of the court as far as it goes confirms the accuracy of the Quaker accounts. It was

published, but incompletely, in *The Friends Intelligencer*, xlix (1887), p. 243, and thence copied in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), lx (1887), p. 374. The present publication gives for the first time a definite date for any of the events in her experiences in Massachusetts.

Benanuel Bowers appears repeatedly in the court records from 1656 until 1682 along with various members of his family. He evidently was the ringleader of Quakerism in the county, his home being first in Cambridge and then in Charlestown. He is mentioned once by name in the account of Bishop as befriending Elizabeth Hooton, for which he was fined £5. This is evidently the court sentence given below. Lucius Paige in his *History of Cambridge, 1630-1877*, p. 347ff., summarizes his long contest with the authorities, quoting the minute of the court given below, but not the other papers or cases.

John Chamberlain, probably a resident Friend, is mentioned frequently by George Bishop and his successors but never Jane Stokes, a Quaker missionary from England. The one use of her name in Whiting's *Truth and Innocency Defended*, 1702, p. 109 is an error for Joan Brooksup and was corrected in the errata of his first edition but allowed to remain in the later edition (1885, p. 475). We know from contemporary Quaker manuscript sources that she was at Barbados (1663), Nantucket (1664) and Jamaica (1672). Here is definite evidence of her being in Massachusetts in 1663. Unfortunately the Suffolk County records which might have told what happened to her when delivered to the constable in Boston are no longer extant.

John Cole, son of Rice or Rees Cole, and his wife Ursula are mentioned in other Charlestown records. Their ages in 1663 were 42 and 30 respectively (T. B. Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown 1629-1818*, Boston, 1879, p. 197). Whether Ursula's acknowledgment was accepted and her fine remitted at the next session we do not know since the minute book (1663-1670) beginning with the session to which she appealed has long been missing, probably burnt in a fire and never replaced. See the minutes for April 3, 1677. Later miscellaneous papers show that having lost her husband the young widow was guilty of drunkenness and worse.

Thomas Osborn and Sarah, his wife, are also mentioned elsewhere in the records (Wyman, p. 716). Thomas had anabaptist leanings and two years later joined with Thomas Gould and others in forming a Baptist church, one of the oldest churches of that faith in the colony. Like his wife he had sympathy with the Quakers, protesting against the usage they received. Their names appear conspicuously on the records of the First (Harvard) Church of Charlestown. On Sunday, November 8, 1663 this couple held with others in their home a private meeting for worship. I have added from the church records as printed in William I. Budington, *History of the First Church, Charlestown,* Boston, 1845, p. 200f., the minute of admonition issued ten days later.

Of the actors opposed to Quakerism several are well known. Ministers or teachers of the Church at Charlestown were Zechariah Symmes (from 1636 to 1671) and Thomas Shepard (from 1654 to 1677). For a time John Harvard was associated with the former; the latter was the son and namesake of the famous pastor of the church in Cambridge.

Richard Russell, Esq., of Charlestown and Captain Daniel Gookin and Thomas Danforth, the last two both from Cambridge, are magistrates well known to local historians. They appear elsewhere in the story of Quaker persecutions.

Two citizens of Charlestown important enough to have left their name in other records are Robert Chalkley, who died in 1672/3 (Wyman, *op. cit.*, p. 197), and John Cutler (*c.* 1628-1694), a deacon of the church as well as a constable (Wyman, p. 255).

Winifred was the widow of William Holman (Homan, or Homwood) of Cambridge, who had died in 1653, leaving among six or eight children a son Abraham, born 1634, and a daughter Elizabeth, born 1644. The mother "suffered much inconvenience from an accusation of witchcraft, 1659; but the charge against her was not sustained, and she died in peace, 16 October, 1671, aged 74." (Paige, *op. cit.*, p. 587; cf. 588 bottom, 356-364.)

Edward Mitchelson the elder lived in Cambridge and from 1637 to his death in 1680/1 he was Marshal General of the Colony. His son Edward (1644-1666) was a graduate of Harvard and a physician (Paige, *op. cit.*, p. 610).

The text of the various records follows:

To the constable of Charlstown

Whereas notice is given that sundry persons, either Quakers or yr abbettors & comforters have been seen this day travelling in yor Towne. These are in his maties name to require you that you forth with make delligt search in all places with in ye precincts of yor Towne where you may have any cause to suspect that such persons do meet to gether, & finding them you ar to bring them before the next magt to be p/ceeded wth according to Law, & here of you are to make a true returne under yor hande & not to faile Dat. 28. 6. 1663

Thomas Danforth

(*On the Back*) Mr Damfort the Attachment at the Court &c
(*Another hand*) I John Cutler in searching for qakers thear abetars or conforfers I found in the hous of benanewell bowers John Chamberlin benanewell bowers mrs(?) Gilume(?) Jane Stocks the wif of John Coals Goodwife Osburn & finding of them I brougt them bee fore Mr Richard Russile for farthar examenatione the 28 of 6. 1663

John Cutler cunstable (*Misc. Papers 2288*)

To ye Cunstables of Charlstown

You are foorth with to take Jane Stocks and Jno. Chambelyn and to deliver them to ye Cunstables of Boston being Vagrants as the Law declars them with the warran[t] to ye Cunstables Dated 28: 6. 63

by me Richard Russell

(*On the Back*) I delivard John Chamberlin & Jane Stocks in to the custote of the cunstable of boston the 28 of the 6: 1663

John Cutler cunstable (*Misc. Papers, unnumbered*)

To the Marshall of Midd or his Dept. or
Constable of Charlstowne

Whereas Winifred Holman widd by her sonne Abram complayneth that her daughter Eliz. living with Benll Bowers the said Bowers is turned to yt accursed sect of the Quakers forsaking ye Holy ordinances of God: whereby the imortall soul of Her sd child is endangerd

These are in his maties name to require you to warne the said Benll & Elizabeth his mayd to appear befor one of ye next magr to answr wt shall be objected agt him in ye p/mises & herof you are to make a true returne under yor hand & not to faile. Dat. 5. 7. 63

Tho: Danforth

(*In another hand*) By vertue hear off I Assigne Abraham Hollman my Lawfull deputye for the serving of this warrant

Edward Mitchellsonn marshell

The 5 7th 63

(*On the Back*) Benamuell Bowers: appered before mee according to this warrant & finding him to bee a p/verse quaker hee denied the Resurection

of the body: he denied that Jesus was God.man that hee was assended in his body into heaven & like damnable herisies

Elizabeth Homan also appered. She refused to obey her mother in coming home to dwell w^th^ her her time being out at Benamuells [.....] It is ordered that the maid returne to her mother & submitt to her & to y^t^ end shee is delivered to her brother Abram

Benamuell Bowers is injoyned to appere at court first teusday in 8br to answer for seducing y^e^ said Elizabeth

7m the 7th 1663 Daniel Gookin

(*In the margin*) at a County Court 6. 8. 63 at Cambridg.

Mr Carter (?) saith y^t^ Hee was present when y^e^ aboves^d^ Ben^ll^ Bower was examed and did so understand Him as in above expressed. Edw. Michelson Jun^r^. saith Hee was p/sent. & rememb. y^t^ He heard Him Ben. Bowers say y^e^ body of Ch^t^ was not ascended into Heaven

T. D. R.

(*Misc. Papers 2271*)

To ye Cunstables of Charlstowne

You are In his majestyes name required to warne Benanuell Bowers. Ursula Cole. and Sara Osburne to appeare at the County Court at Cambridg next 6th. day of this month By one of the Clock ther to Answer for thyr a Betting and Incoraging a Vagabund Quaker one the fast day at Charlstowne being the 28^th^ day of the six month. Last Contrary to Law: Dated this 3^d^ day of octob. 1663

By mee Richard Russell

(*On the Back*) This warant was read to benanuell bowars & Ursale Cole & Sara Osburne & warned to appear at the Countee Court the 6 of october 1663 at on of the clocke

Thay wear warned by mee John Cutler Constable the 3 of the 8: 1663.

(*Misc. Papers 2243*)

I robard Chaklee aged about 55 years doe testefi that ursalee Cols beeing in my hous speaking abought m^r^ Simms & m^r^ Shepards preaching ursale Cols said that shee had as liv hear the Cat meau As there preaching: (*In another hand*) Ursilla y^e^ wife of Jn^o^ Cole appearing in Court, owned this testimony to be legally true, & desired y^t^ y^e^ above named witnes, & others tendered in y^e^ case might not be put to y^r^ oath ag^t^ Her.

8^b^. 6^th^ 1663 Thomas Danforth Record^r^

(*On the Back*) Goody Coles conviction (*Misc. Papers 2261*)

Elizabeth Howton appearing before the Court & being convicted of being a vagabond & wandering Quaker, haveing ben taken in the mann[er?] in Cambr. Towne, after their bold & impettuous way, making an outcry in their Streets, This Court do sentence Her to be whipt ten stripes in the prison house before shee thence depart, and from thence to be conveyed

out of this Jurisdiction from constable to Constable throw Water-Towne, & Dedham, and to be whipt on her naked body 10: stripes in each of the said Townes as the law in y^t^ case directeth.

(*In the Margin*) Eliz̄b: Howton Sentence to be whipt

on Her exam. sh[e] denied her name t[o] be Howton. Said she was called to preach. charged y^e^ court y^t^ they had turned y^e^ sword o[f] justice ag^t^ y^e^ righte[?] y^t^ y^e^ Lord would roo[t] out o^r^ practices y^t^ [o^r^] ministers had proved deceitfull, & ordinan[ces] ordinances of men [o^r^] colledge a Cage of uncleane birds—//

(*County Court Minutes I. 250, Cambridge, Oct. 6. 1663*)

Ursilla the wife of John Cole of Charlstowne being convicted of revileing the reverend M^r^ Simes, & M^r^ Shepard, ministers of Gods word at Charlstowne, Sayng shee had as live heare a Catt meaw, as them preach. is fined five pounds, or to be openly whipt, and shee being also convicted, of meeting with Sundry Quakers at Ben: Bowers house, was admonished of Her evill & sin therein, & warned to attend the Worship of God on y^e^ Lords dayes in y^e^ publ: assemblyes, with more frequency & delight.

Costs. three shillings to y^e^ witnesses.

John Coale her husband appearing in Court engaged to pay her fine of five pounds.//

(*In the Margin*) Ursilla Cole fined 5^l^ or to be whipt

(*County Court Minutes I. 252, Cambridge, Oct. 6, 1663*)

Sarah the wife of W^m^ Osburne of Charlstowne, being convicted of meeting with some Quakers at Ben^ll^. Bowers, was admonished in Court to beware of the curssed tenets & practises of those Herreticks, & to returne Her Selfe to the fellowship of Gods people, and attendance on his ordinances.//. costs. three shillings. to y^e^ witnesses

(*In the Margin*) Sarah Osburne admonished

(*County Court Minutes I. 251, Cambridge, Oct. 6, 1663*)

Benanuel Bowers, appearing before the Court, & being convicted of absenting hims: from the publ: ordinances of Ch.^t^ on y^e^ Lords dayes. by his owne confession for about a Quarter of a yeare past. & of enterteyneing Quakers into his family two sev^r^all times.

on his Exam. he affirmed, y^t^ the Spirit of God was a Xians rule. & y^t^ David had no need of the word nor never contradicted it: and y^t^ Hee speaks of no other law but y^t^ w^ch^ was in his Heart. The Court fined him for absenting himselfe from y^e^ publ: ordinances 20:^s^ & for twice enterteyneing y^e^ Quakers. foure pound & costs three shillings. to y^e^ witnesses.

(*In the Margin*) Ben:^ll^ Bowers fined 5^li^

(*County Court Minutes I. 256, Cambridge, Oct. 6, 1663*)

a bil of charges [?] abought searching for qakar & ther abetars

Robard Chaklee & John Cutler finding of them at benaneuwel bowarses did bring them bee foar mr Rusile upon the last fast day at Charls town	03 00
by warant from mr Rusil caried two of them to boston & delivard them to the Constable theare—which was John Chanbarlin Jane Stoks	01 06
//I John Cutler did warne benanuell bowars Ursalee Cois Sara osburn to apear at the Cout at Cambrige	02 00
by warant from mr Rusill	
I robart Chaklee attend upon the Court a witnis conserning Usalee Cols the 6 of octobar 1663	01 06
	08 . . 00

(*Misc. Papers 2251: see reproduction facing this page*)

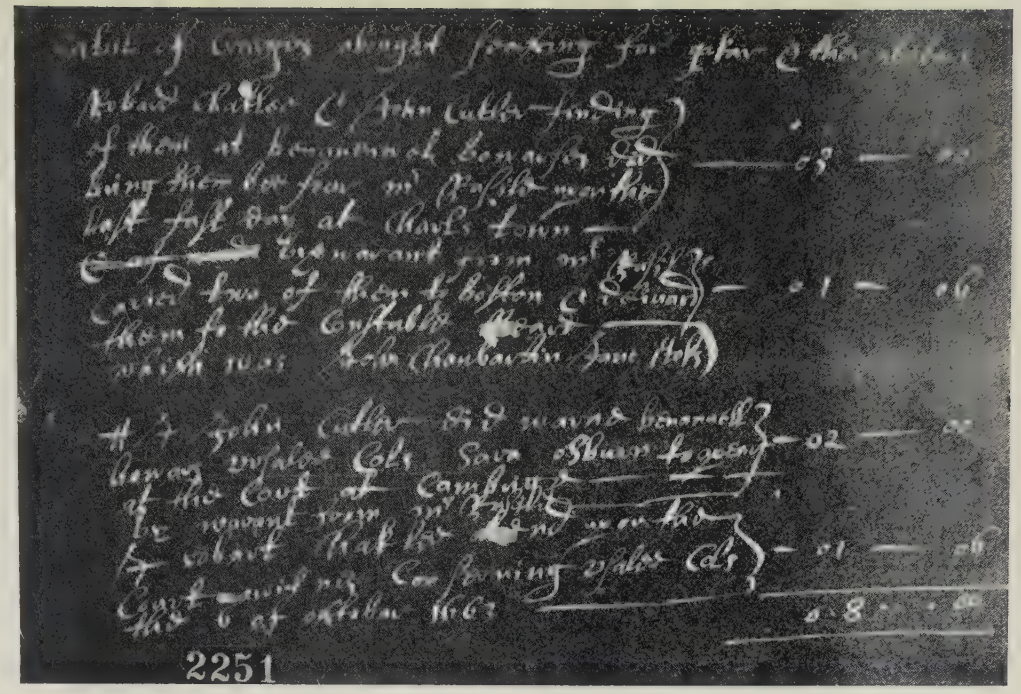
Bro. Thomas *Osburn* being leavened with principles of *Anabaptisme* was (the brethren consenting) *admonished* for frequent irregular withdrawing himself from the publick worship of God, holding it to be no sin to neglect the publick ordinances of God upon the Lord's day even when they might conveniently be enjoyed; and for continuing impenitent in his sin. On the same day also, it was consented to by the brethren, that *his wife*, leavened with principles of *Anabaptisme* and *Quakerisme*, should receive an admonition, for her notorious neglect of the publique worship of God, *denying our churches* to be true churches, and denying her membership with us, and, also, the churches power over her, and continuing impenitent in her sin. She went home from the assembly, when the admonition should have been declared to her, but however it was declared that she was under the publiq offence of the church.

(*Records of the Church at Charlestown, Nov. 18, 1663*)

Thee. Humble. Accknowledgment of Usslie Colles: unto. the. Honoured Court. Now. setting in Charlstowne. I. Usslie. Colles. doe Accknowledge. that I doe not know that I. did speake those words that was. charged against me.: But if I should so. say.: I doe acknowledge that I did evilly. In so. saying And Am heartyly sorrow. for it. And Hope that it shall be a warrning unto. me. for time to. come that I shall niber say the Like.: by the helpe of the Lord: Humbly Intreating the Honoured Courtte to passe By this offennce: of myne

This 15th: 10mo 1663: the marke of Usslie × Colles:.

(*Misc. Papers 2278*)



"a bil of charges abought searching for qakar & ther abetars"

No. 1

Heemskerk's "Quaker Meeting": the London Version of Bowles's Engraving
(Friends House, London)

EGBERT van HEEMSKERK'S "QUAKER MEETING"

By William I. Hull

"THE Quaker Meeting" is the name of an oil painting by Egbert van Heemskerk, now apparently lost, but preserved in various engravings, imitations and caricatures. It may well be called "the great historic picture of primitive Quakerism."[1] Among the pictures of the thirty-seven persons represented in it, are supposed to be portraits made from life of a half-dozen of early Quakerism's foremost leaders. If this supposition should prove to be correct, the painting well deserves the characterization quoted above.

The early Friends' dislike of having their portraits painted is a cause of much regret in modern Quaker circles, and it has added to the uncertainty which surrounds the few alleged portraits of Fox and Penn, and the apparent lack of portraits of Barclay, Keith, and many other founders of the society. Fortunately, the painters of Holland were both enterprising and skilful, and their interest in the new religious sect led to numerous attempts by them to make it live on canvas. Dutch art has preserved various traits—real and imaginary—of seventeenth-century Quaker costumes and customs, and has bequeathed to us a few portraits of the Quaker leaders. Sir Peter Lely's George Fox, Guérard Rademaker's Willem Sewel, an unknown artist's portrait of James Nayler, and Egbert van Heemskerk's pictures are among the foremost of these.[2]

Egbert van Heemskerk, as he was known in Holland, or Egbert Heemskerk (Heemskerck, Hemskerke, Hemskirk) as he was known in England, was the son of Egbert van Heemskerk, "the Elder," who was born in Haarlem in 1610, and worked in The Hague from 1663 to 1665, in Amsterdam after 1665, and "later" in London, where he was patronized by Lord Rochester (the friend of William Penn), and where he died in 1680. Horace Walpole

[1] Wilfred Whitten, *Quaker Pictures*, 1892, Series I, p. 19.

[2] If Penn's portrait at "the age of twenty-two" (the "Armour Portrait") is authentic, and especially if it was painted in 1666 by Sir Peter Lely, who was painting Admiral Sir William Penn's portrait at that time, it is a noteworthy addition to this short but precious list.

calls him "a buffoon painter," attributes to him "pieces of humour, that is, drunken scenes, Quakers' meetings, wakes, etc.," and says that he was patronized by Lord Rochester, and died in London in 1704, "leaving a son of his profession." [3] Von Wurzbach adds to this information that he painted witches' scenes, ghost-stories, the temptations of Saint Anthony, drinking parties, and "Quaker sermons and worse (*Quäkerpredigten und Schlimmeres*)." [4]

The historians of painting have confused the works, and even the lives, of the father and son. For example, the son's birth year is given as 1645 (although the father's birth year is given by the same compilers as 1634!); and the father's death year is cited as 1680, 1704, and 1744! The truth appears to be that Egbert the elder was born in Haarlem in 1610, and died in London in 1680;[5] while Egbert the younger was born in Haarlem in 1645, and died in London in 1704.

Egbert the younger's works are characterized as are his father's. "He had much spirit," writes a Dutch historian,[6] "and a lively imagination, and delighted in producing wild, whimsical and uncommon subjects, as for example the nocturnal meetings of witches, devils and ghosts, also drinking parties and rural merry-makings"—such as monkeys dressed up and acting like men and women. An earlier English author writes: "He painted drolls after the manner of Brawer,[7] which he called 'conversations.' His drunken drolls, his wakes, his quaker-meetings, his sots paradice [*sic*], and some lewd pieces have been in vogue among the waggish collectors and the lower rank of virtuosi." [8] He was also an engraver, and engraved some portraits, his own among them. As

[3] Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1762), edition of 1876, vol. ii, p. 225; there is a woodcut portrait of the elder Heemskerk on this page.

[4] Alfred von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, Wien und Leipzig, 1906, vol. i, p. 658f.

[5] Thieme und Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig, 1923, vol. 16, p. 226.

[6] J. Immerzeel, Jr., *De Levens en Werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche Kunstschilders*, Amsterdam, 1843, vol. ii, p. 24.

[7] *I. e.*, Adrian Brouwer, of Antwerp, 1605-1638.

[8] An *Essay towards an English School*, written chiefly by "the late B. Buckeridge, Esq.," and bound up with an English translation of M. De Piles, *The Art of Painting*, 3d ed., London, 1754 (?), p. 383.

No. 2

Heemskerk's "Quaker Meeting": the Philadelphia Version of Bowles's Engraving
(Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and Swarthmore College)

No. 3

Caricature of Heemskerk's Painting
(Charles F. Jenkins, Germantown, Pennsylvania)

part of his humor, he frequently inserted a portrait of himself in his comic pictures, and kept a small mirror beside his easel.[9]

One of Heemskerk's Quaker critics admits that his coloring is cold and heavy, and his favorite subjects are vulgar and eccentric; but he finds an ascending scale of dignity, culminating in his Quaker subjects.[10] The truth of this may be conceded and may explain why such dignified institutions as the British Museum, Hampton Court Palace, the Friends' Institute (London), and Haverford College have vied with "waggish collectors and the lower rank of virtuosi" in procuring and treasuring at least his Quaker paintings.

The greatest of these last is his *Quaakers Vergadering* (The Quakers' Meeting), about which, unfortunately, there is much uncertainty. An engraving of this picture, measuring 24 by 30 inches, preserved in Friends House, London, is probably a faithful copy of it (see No. 1 in the accompanying set of illustrations). This engraved reproduction shows the interior of a meeting house, crudely furnished, with a few chairs and benches scattered irregularly on the floor, and a flight of five ladder-stairs leading to a low gallery. Thirty-seven men and women are shown facing a meeting for worship; a dozen of them sit or stand in the gallery, the rest are seated or standing on the floor. A woman stands, gesticulating, on the end of a bench or a tub placed on the floor; while in the gallery, two men are leaning over the railing. The woman is either preaching, or interpreting for the man in the gallery with his hat on.

THERE are extant several engravings of Heemskerk's "Quaker Meeting," the best known of which is by, or attributed to "I. Bowles" (see picture No. 2). I. Bowles appears to have been the son of John Bowles, who sold prints at Mercers Hall, in Cheapside, London, for some years beginning with 1721, and who is said by the British Museum experts to have often

[9] Christiaan Kramm, in a continuation of Immerzeel, *op. cit.*, Amsterdam, 1859, vol. iii, p. 655. One of his engravings of his own portrait is mentioned as extant, but as very rare. The size is given thus: h. 8 dm. 7L, br. 6 dm. 5L: that is, 8 daumen ("thumbs") 7 lines high by 6 daumen 5 lines broad, or about 8½ by 6½ inches.

[10] Whitten, *loc. cit.*

purchased second-hand plates. The son, I. Bowles, may have touched these up for sale in his father's shop. His mezzotint engraving of Heemskerk's "Quaker Meeting" is evidently from a worn and touched-up plate, from which a previous inscription has been scraped away. The extant inscription on the lower right is as follows: *I. Bowles, Exc. London sold by J. Bowles at Mercers Hall in Cheapside.* The inscription on the lower left is: *E. Heemskirck pinx.* The plate measures 21 by 15½ inches. There is no doubt that Heemskerk painted the picture; but who was the author of the original engraving? Since the painting was made some forty years before J. Bowles's first trade catalog of prints was issued, it is probable that I. Bowles's plate was made soon after the painting, and by an engraver in Holland.[11]

The interior of the Heemskerk picture has usually been described as that of the Bull and Mouth Meeting House, in Aldersgate Street, London. This house had been used as an inn until the Friends leased it for their meetings, which were held in it between 1654 and 1666. It was burned down in the latter year, in the "Great Fire," and another house was built upon the site and used as a meeting house until 1740. The lack of a regular gallery and seats for the preachers is characteristic of the early meeting houses; and if this really be the "Bull and Mouth," the auditors or other attenders (1,000 of whom are said to have been provided with standing room) must be supposed to be facing the thirty-seven persons in the picture.

On the assumption that the scene of the painting was this London meeting house, it has also been assumed that the man with his hat on, leaning on the gallery railing, is George Fox, while the two men at the extreme right wearing hats, wigs and lace are supposed to be William Penn and James, Duke of York. But, while the supposed portrait of Fox is decidedly reminiscent of Sir Peter Lely's oil portrait of Fox and of S. Allen's engraving of S. Chinn's portrait of him, neither of the two figures on the

[11] This engraver may have been Jacob Goole (cf. *infra,* p. 26). Picture No. 2 is from a photograph by Wallace (1936) of a photograph by Gutekunst (in the 1860's), both of whom are Philadelphia photographers. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania possesses Gutekunst's photograph, but does not now possess either the engraving or the plate.

right is at all reminiscent of the authentic portraits of the Duke of York.

There is another and very interesting possibility that van Heemskerk painted the picture, not in London, but in Haarlem or Rotterdam. It is not known when he left Holland for London; but it may have been in 1680, when his father is said to have died in that city.[12] If he went there during his father's last illness and remained to inherit his father's business, he would still have been in Holland in 1677, during the famous organizing visit of Fox, Penn, Barclay, and a half-dozen other leaders of English Quakerism. The costumes are not conclusive, since similar costumes were worn by people of equal social rank in both England and the Netherlands. But the view through the window of the meeting house resembles seventeenth-century Haarlem or Rotterdam, rather than London after the Great Fire, while the interior of the room resembles an early eighteenth-century picture of Rotterdam's Quaker meeting house.

Fox, Penn and their party arrived at Haarlem, en route from Rotterdam to Amsterdam, in August, 1677, and held a large meeting for worship there. Both Fox and Penn preached in this meeting, and Benjamin Furly of Rotterdam and perhaps Jan Claus of Amsterdam interpreted for them. Egbert van Heemskerk was thirty-two at the time and well launched on his artist's career. If he was still living in Haarlem, his interest in scenes "out of the ordinary" would have led him to the meeting of the Quaker leaders. Indeed, he may have made the first sketch of his "Quaker Meeting" at that time, and then followed the preachers on their return to Rotterdam and finished his picture there. Afterwards, when he went to London, he would have taken it with him to sell to some non-Quaker patron of art.

Penn did not go to Haarlem again in 1677, but Fox did so and held another large meeting there. On this occasion, he was interpreted by Gertrud Deriks of Amsterdam. Gertrud accompanied him and his party to Rotterdam on their return to England; and in the house of Benjamin Furly at Rotterdam, several more large

[12] Thieme und Becker, while giving the father's death year in London as 1680, merely say that the son settled in London "early"; in 1680, the latter would have been about thirty-five years old.

public meetings were held. Furly's capacious house and warehouse stood on the Wijnstraat, in the heart of Rotterdam's harbor, with the old *Beurs*, or Exchange, the *Waag*, or Weigh-house (public scales), and a church or synagogue visible from its windows.

In the party, besides Gertrud Deriks and other Dutch Quakers, were Fox, Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and his wife, John Furly, William Tallcoat, George Watts, and Isabel Fell Yeomans (Fox's step-daughter). The interpreters in these meetings were again Furly Claus and—although Fox and Penn in their Journals do not definitely say so—probably Gertrud Deriks.

The woman prominent in Heemskerk's painting is either preaching her own sermon or interpreting that of the man with his hat on, leaning over the railing to her right (or to her left in the next picture), at whom she appears to be looking. We are fain to think that this woman is Gertrud Deriks, a pillar of the Amsterdam Friends' meeting, who was both an interpreter of English Quaker preachers and a preacher in her own right.

The man at whom she appears to be looking is taken for George Fox, the portrait of whom in this picture closely resembles, as has been said, that of Fox by Sir Peter Lely and S. Allen's engraving of S. Chinn's portrait of Fox. The man in the gallery with his hat off, leaning over the railing and taking an absorbed interest in the proceedings, is taken to be Benjamin Furly, the host of the occasion and a frequent interpreter of English Quaker preachers visiting his adopted city of Rotterdam. The man behind him may be supposed to be his fellow-interpreter, Jan Claus, a pillar of the Friends' meeting in Amsterdam.

The other occupants of the gallery and of the seats on the floor—all of whom are facing outward towards the audience—are presumably the other members of Fox's party and of the several Dutch meetings who accompanied the English Friends to bid them farewell on their departure from Brielle. We should much like to identify these persons, especially the Dutch Quakers, about whose activities much has been learned; and we wonder especially if Heemskerk introduced himself [13] into this picture—

[13] He may even have introduced himself twice; the two men with their hats off, one on the floor on the right, and one in the gallery on the right.

No. 4

Caricature of Heemskerk's Painting (Friends House, London)

No. 5

Jacob Goole's Engraving (British Museum)

perhaps the man with his hat on, standing behind the two prominent persons on the extreme right!

These last two individuals are of peculiar interest. When the painting was supposed to have been made in the "Bull and Mouth" meeting house in London, the two individuals were supposed to be William Penn and the Duke of York! But neither of them bears the least resemblance to the authentic portraits of the duke, who seven years later was to become King James II. The foremost of the two individuals, however, may well be William Penn, who is said in Fox's Journal to have taken a very active part in the Rotterdam meetings, which Penn himself described in his "Travails" as large and blessed.[14]

The typically Scotch features of the man standing a little behind Penn and to his left suggest that this was Robert Barclay, author of the famous "Apology."[15] There was a warm friendship between Penn and Barclay, and on this journey to Holland they were closely united. On the arrival of their ship off Brielle, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, they had hastened off ahead of the rest of the party and had gone in a small boat towards the city; but before they reached it, Fox records, "the gates were shut, and there being no house without the gates, they were fain to lie in a fisher's boat all night." Barclay participated actively in the meetings held in Rotterdam and Amsterdam, and from the latter city accompanied Penn, Keith, and Furly into Germany to visit Barclay's friend and correspondent, the Princess Elisabeth of the Palatinate. He returned to England at some time before Penn and Fox; and this circumstance might preclude his being in Heemskerk's picture, unless the latter were made on

[14] Roger Fry, a Quaker artist and Cambridge University lecturer, says of this portrait: "The portrait in Heemskerck's contemporary painting of a Quakers' meeting at Hampton Court is clearly a somewhat caricatured version of the same face [that is, Sylvanus Bevan's ivory medallion of Penn], which is a characteristic likeness, and gives the impression of having been taken direct from life." See *The Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. 19 (1895), p. 270.

[15] George Keith, the other Scotsman in the party, had also accompanied Penn on his journey this year to Germany, and had taken an active part in the meetings in Holland. It is possible that he sits in the gallery, in the picture, beside his wife, the other woman being Isabel Fell Yeomans.

the party's first arrival in Rotterdam, or unless Heemskerk had sketched him (as well as the other Friends) before their second visit to that city, while they were in Haarlem.

IMITATIONS and caricatures of this painting were evidently popular in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.[16] Among these is a caricature owned by Charles Francis Jenkins of Philadelphia (see No. 3). This is a humorous exaggeration of both the youthful and the elder participants in the meeting, the eyes being especially intriguing. The leading characters are made most youthful and sprightly, even the ponderous Fox and Penn of the original being transformed into gay and knowing gallants. On the other hand, the two portraits of what may be Heemskerk himself in the original have aged many years in the caricature; and this raises the interesting question: Was it made, perchance, by Heemskerk himself in later life? There is no name or inscription on the front of the caricature; but in print and handwriting on paper pasted on the back of the frame is a title and explanation, accompanied by the lot number 231. On the right is the written heading "Dr. Jackson"; then, in print (the solidi indicating the division into lines): "London / 22 / Attributed to Hogarth / William Penn at the Quakers Meeting / House (with his second wife), at / Chalfont St. Giles / (22-in. by 26-in.)." In writing, at the middle of the top of the frame: "The Interior * * * [illegible] By Hogar[th] / of / Jordans Meeting House / Chalfont St. Giles' Bucks / The famous W^{m} Penn (the founder of / Pennsylvania) is represented / on the left-hand side drest in a *red* / coat — He was buried in the ground / attached thereto on the 5th of August 1718".

An imitation of Heemskerk's picture—much abbreviated—is from a negative in Friends House, London, from an unknown source (see No. 4). While there are striking resemblances

[16] There is another copy of Bowles's mezzotint engraving in the British Museum's collection of satirical prints: "A Quaker's Meeting, No. 1554, by Heemskirk, A. D. 1710"; cf. John Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne*, London, 1929, p. 352. This page gives only a part of the picture; but there is a detailed description of it in the Museum's *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings*, London, 1873, vol. ii, p. 343.

No. 6

Isaac Beckett's Engraving (Friends House, London)

No. 7

I. Greene's Engraving (Friends House, London)

between it and the engravings reproduced above, there are also striking differences. The verses at the bottom of this picture read as follows:

> Here Sanctity in various Forms Appear,
> But in their Shops they Cheat while Speak you Fair.
> Well, they are not the only Sett to Blame;
> Our Guilty Selves, too Often Act the Same.

The grammar and punctuation in these verses have a foreign touch; and the plate is evidently an old one, with erasures still visible.

Quakerism's American poet, John G. Whittier, while residing in Philadelphia, doubtless saw the Pennsylvania Historical Society's engraving of Heemskerk's historic picture. In his "Pennsylvania Pilgrim" (1872), Whittier commemorates it as follows:

> One faith alone, so broad that all mankind
> Within themselves its secret witness find,—
> Scholar and peasant, lord and serf, allied,
> The polished Penn and Cromwell's Ironside.
> As still in Hemskerck's Quaker Meeting, face
> By face in Flemish detail, we may trace
> How loose-mouthed boor and fine ancestral grace
> Sat in close contrast,—the clipt-headed churl,
> Broad market-dame, and simple serving-girl
> By skirt of silk and periwig in curl!

And to these lines, the poet appended the Note: "The Quakers' Meeting,—a painting by E. Hemskerck (supposed to be Egbert Hemskerck the younger, son of Egbert Hemskerk the older), in which William Penn and others—among them Charles II, or the Duke of York—are represented along with the rudest and most stolid class of the British rural population at that period. Hemskerck came to London from Holland with King William in 1689. He delighted in wild, grotesque subjects, such as the nocturnal intercourse of witches and the temptation of St. Anthony. Whatever was strange and uncommon attracted his free pencil. Judging from the portrait of Penn, he must have drawn his faces, figures and costumes from life, although there may be something of caricature in the convulsed attitudes of two or three of the figures."

THE theme of a Quakeress preaching from a tub, Heemskerk evidently made very popular in depicting Quaker meetings;[17] for we have quite a series of pictures with this theme as their center-pieces, in which however the meeting room either has no gallery, or is provided with a small one looking more like a cupboard, in which sometimes one or more cats may be seen, carrying out or caricaturing the idea of humans in a gallery.

One of these pictures is an engraving of a painting by "E. H. Kerk," the engraving having been made by "J. Gole" (see No. 5). The painter of this was Egbert Heemskerk; and its engraver, Jacob Goole, was a contemporary of Heemskerk, and a predecessor of Bowles, who is supposed to have utilized some of Goole's plates by touching them up before publishing them as his own. Goole was born in 1660, probably in Amsterdam, and died in that city about 1737. In a list of his genrebilder occurs the item (No. 195): "Quäkerversammlung. E. Heemskerck";[18] and a copy of his engraving of this picture is preserved in the British Museum.[19] No engraving by Goole of Heemskerk's larger Quaker Meeting is forthcoming; but those of this smaller Quaker Meeting are from a plate of exceptional freshness and fairness, which may be evidence of both their early origin and their escape from later engravers' hands.

An English engraver, named Isaac Beckett, who was born in Kent in 1653 and died in 1719, but all of whose extant engravings are attributed to the years 1681 to 1688, evidently utilized Goole's engraving (see No. 6). The latter is entitled "de Quakers Vergaderinge"; and Beckett's title is a translation of this, namely, "The Quakers Meeting." The rest of the inscription on Beckett's is: "E. HKerck pinx: I. Beckett sc:"; and: "Sold by I. Smith at y^{e} Lyon & Crown in Russel Street Covent-Garden." Since Beckett's engraving is the same size and the exact reverse of Goole's, they are evidently related as copy and original.[20]

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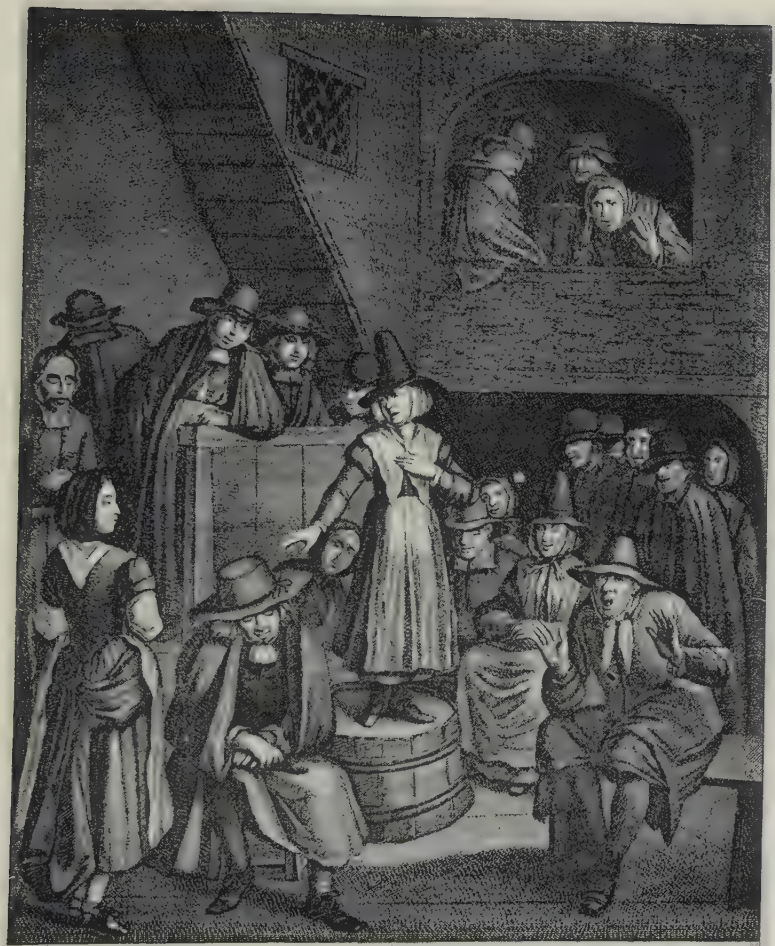
[17] A variant of this theme, with a Quaker *man* preaching from a tub, is found in the British Museum's collection of satirical prints; *vide supra*, note 16: Ashton, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

[18] A. von Wurzbach, *loc. cit.*

[19] The dimensions given are 10 by 7 inches for the engraving.

[20] A copy of Beckett's engraving is preserved in Friends House, London.


Flusht with Conceit(which she ij Spirit calls)
Upon a Tub see how Dame Silence brawls
Whilst Dunghill Cocks in a most pious strain
Listen to heare the Cackling of the Hen
The Quakers Meeting
In publick who can heare a Females tattle
Let me in Bed heare my kinde Mistress prattle
For if their Preaching edifies the Nation
It must be by meanes of Application

No. 8

Marcel Lauron's Engraving (Friends House and British Museum)

No. 9

Oil Painting, by an Unnamed Artist (Friends House)

A variation of Goole's engraving is another one (13½ by 10 inches) preserved in Friends House, London (see No. 7), the inscription on which reads as follows:

THE QUAKERS MEETING

Heemskerk pinx published by Rob. Soyer 53 Fleet Street I. Greene fecit.

Details as to I. Greene's life and work are lacking in the art encyclopedias and biographies of artists; but his engraving shows him to have been an inferior workman as well as an imitator of Goole.

Another engraver of Heemskerk's smaller "Quakers Meeting" was Marcel Lauron, a copy of whose engraving is also preserved in Friends House, London (see No. 8). Its size is 15½ by 11½ inches, and the inscription on it:

E Heemskerk } .
MLauron } pinx

seems to imply that the painting was changed as well as engraved by Lauron. The verses are contemptuous of woman's preaching, which is made the center of this picture as of so many others portraying early Quakerism.

Lauron was born at The Hague in 1653, of French extraction; he went in his youth with his father to England, and lived in Yorkshire many years, dying in 1702. In England, he was usually called Laroon, and he is best known for his "Cryes of London" and the coronation procession of William III and Mary II. Besides these, he painted small portraits and "conversation-pictures" and many humorous or "free" pictures in the style of Heemskerk. Beckett and John Smith engraved his paintings; but he also engraved some of them himself in mezzotint, and among these was his "Quakers' Meeting." It is evidently a caricature of Heemskerk's. The dogs shown in Allard's engraving of Heemskerk's picture (see picture No. 12) are missing, and the cats in the closet, shown in Allard, are replaced by three humans, one of them playing the part of Isengrim. The preacheress on the tub in the foreground and various other figures recall Heemskerk's smaller picture, while two of the figures leaning on the railing may even be Fox and, perhaps, Penn as suggested by Heemskerk's larger picture.

The British Museum possesses a copy of this engraving, a description of which includes the following paragraph:[21]

"Between this figure [that of the man with upraised hands and open mouth] and that of the preacher sits a woman, whose costume and features indicate that she belongs to a somewhat higher station of life than that of her fellows here. The face of this person, which is evidently a portrait, is, in the impression of the print now in question, drawn with a pen in a very careful and delicate manner, and on a separate piece of paper, which has been inserted where space was made for it by removing the original head. A man and woman sit on the right of the last figure; on her left, four men and a woman stand. The inserted head is evidently intended as a personal satire upon some lady who was associated with the Society of Friends at the time it was executed." [22]

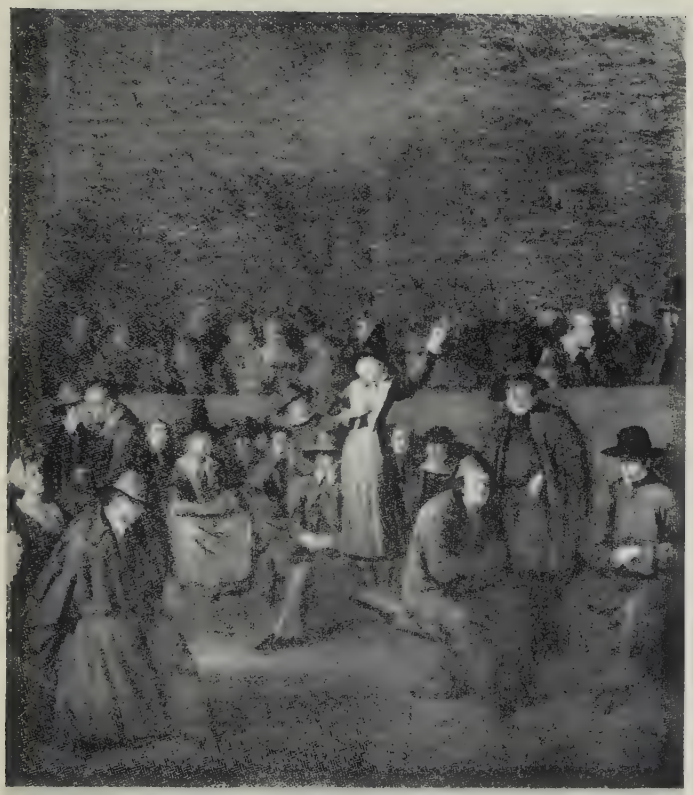
An oil painting at Friends House, London, 23 by 29 inches, bears no artist's name; but there are reminiscences in it of Heemskerk, and it accentuates the familiar theme of the woman preacher (see No. 9). What a contemporary critic thought of this aspect of Quakerism is seen in the Memoirs of François Misson, a French Protestant who fled from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Writing in London, September 12, 1697, Misson said:[23] "The [Quaker] women sometimes preach in their meetings, but less often than the men; . . . and the mere commonplace, which is all they are judges of, is directed against the fashions and other ornaments and dress of women. The best way to get one of their women preachers started is to take some ladies to their meeting. The instant the *Précheuse* perceives a ribbon, her Spirit and her fury catch fire; and, mounting on a tub turned upside down, with her pointed bonnet and crying face, she begins to sigh, tremble, murmur, quake and snuffle, and breaks out into downright nonsense."

Another painting of a Quaker meeting attributed to Heemskerk was said to have been signed by Heemskerk and dated London, 1690 (see No. 10). It found its way to Scotland, and was pre-

[21] No. 157; cf. the Museum's *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings*, London, 1870, vol. i, p. 118. This engraving is smaller than that at Friends House, namely, 13⅞ by 11⅜ inches.

[22] The Friends House copy of Lauron's engraving does not appear to have the superimposed head described above as being in the British Museum's copy.

[23] *Mémoires et Observations faites par un Voyageur en Angleterre . . .*," The Hague, 1698.



A WELSH PRAYER MEETING.

No. 10
Oil Painting, attributed to Heemskerk (Hamilton Palace, near Glasgow; since 1935, Powysland Museum, Welshpool, Wales)

No. 11

Oil Painting, attributed to Heemskerk (copyright)

No. 12

Carolus Allard's Engraving (British Museum)

No. 13

Oil Painting (Friends House)

served for many years in the splendid art gallery in Hamilton Palace, near Glasgow. In 1882, it was sold with the rest of the collection, and in 1935 it was presented to the Powysland Museum in Welshpool, Wales. The modern inscription on the picture is "A Welsh Prayer Meeting," which is evidently a concession to local pride; but a note in the museum's circular states that the painting is "by the Dutch painter Egbert Heemskerk," and that "the Quaker Meeting House shown with its opening from the bedroom of the adjoining cottage shows a resemblance to the Dolobran Meeting House, Meifod."

In Hampton Court Palace, Room XV ("The Prince of Wales's Presence Chamber"), there hangs an oil painting of a Quaker Meeting (picture No. 589) attributed to Heemskerk (see No. 11). From this picture, the usual gallery is missing, and even one of the closets in the wall is closed, while the other is apparently empty. Perhaps to add to the flavor of Heemskerk's native land, there are hung in the same room and close by a "Portrait of a Dutch Jewish Lady," by Rembrandt(?) (No. 543) and Rembrandt's "Head of an old Jewish Rabbi" (No. 544).[24]

ONE of the best known of Heemskerk's Quaker meetings is one that was engraved by Carolus (or Carel) Allard (or Allardt) (see No. 12). This copper engraver and publisher was born in Amsterdam, January 19, 1648. At the age of thirty-five, he applied for a license to sell prints published by him; and as late as 1706, he was still publishing them. He appears to have made many engravings and left them unsigned, but the inscription on this one is distinctly: *Egbertus Heemskerk Pinxit Londini. Carolus Allard Fecit et Excudit Amstelodami.*[25] He engraved also several of Sir Peter Lely's portraits, and either he or his brother Abraham engraved at least two pictures of Quakers for Bernard Picart's *Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses de tous les Peuples.*[26]

Dutch paintings and engravings were in demand in England at this time, and many found their way to London's market. This

[24] Ernest Law, *Historical Catalogue of the Pictures at Hampton Court*, London, 1905, p. 101.

[25] A. von Wurzbach gives the size of Allard's engraving of Heemskerk's picture as "Gr. qu. fol." (gross quer folio), or large oblong folio (about 30 inches wide by 20 high).

[26] Amsterdam, 1723-1743.

explains the Dutch and English verses on Allard's engraving. It has the title in Dutch and English: *Quaakers Vergadering* and *The Quakers Meeting*, with a Latin phrase (*Fronti Nulla Fides*: No confident faith in her countenance), and another Latin phrase (*Quis non vicus Abundat Tristibus obscœnis*: What place is there not abounding in these gloomy obscenities?).

The twelve lines in Dutch, beneath the picture, differ somewhat from the ten lines in English, by which they are supposed to be translated; in more literal translation, they are as follows:

> Quakeress away! This post is not to you ordained:
> The Word of God was never placed in trust to you:
> Aaron's Breast-plate was made of gold too fine and true,
> Too fine for you to wear with your muddy soles entrained.
> Saint Paul chained and sealed your mouth in God's holy church;
> He would turn your *Pulpit* up and set your *hands* to work.
> What topsy-turvy Spirit has seized you in this age?
> Pull off your mask, and silence keep; cats from their cage
> And Isengrim spy out your nature and your plan,
> Proclaiming you and yours to be of their own clan.
> Whereat Mistress Jenny's dog howls with grief and scorn,
> And near her, another dog befouls its mistress' gown.

Another oil painting (17½ by 21 inches) is preserved at Friends House, London, which carries on the Heemskerk tradition (see No. 13). The gallery with its spectators and participants is missing (as in Allard's Heemskerk); but the two dogs are present, and Isengrim peers from one of the closets in astonishment or envy at the Quaker woman preaching from a tub. The human figures so closely resemble, in number, location and appearance, those in Allard's Heemskerk, that the latter engraving (or perhaps its original) was obviously imitated by the unknown author of this oil painting.

Another painting closely resembling Heemskerk's (and Allard's engraving) is one owned by Mr. John Charnley, 25 Croxteth Grove, Liverpool (see No. 14). Its size is 30 by 21 inches; it is a reverse of Allard's Heemskerk except that some of the figures are not identical, being (usually) replaced by caricatures. The woman on the tub and the dogs are in evidence; but the gallery, and even the closets with their former human or feline occupants, are missing.

No. 14

Oil Painting (John Charnley, 25 Croxteth Grove, Liverpool 8)

No. 15

Oil Painting (Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

Still another oil painting closely resembling the Heemskerk picture hangs in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (see No. 15). An engraved plate upon its modern frame bears the inscription:

"The Quaker Meeting"
17th Century
Attributed to one of the
Heemskerks

There are striking resemblances to and differences from the original, in this picture; and among the changes, is the introduction (on the right) of a figure garbed like a clergyman of the Anglican Church.

With the dawn of the eighteenth century, greater liberties were taken with Heemskerk's Quaker meetings. An oil painting of this time (24 by 28½ inches), by an unknown artist, hangs in Friends House, London (see No. 16). Some of the salient features of the original are preserved in it; but many of the figures and their costumes and expressions have been transformed, while the clerical neckcloth is quite prominent, and the homely detail of the mother wiping her little boy's nose adds piquancy to the scene.

An entirely different conception of a Quaker meeting is attributed to "Egbert Hemskirk" as painter and an engraver named Visscher. This is an engraving, 18 by 15 inches, in Friends House, London (see No. 17); but it is not known by what authority it is attributed to Heemskerk and Visscher. Jan de Visscher was born in Amsterdam about 1636, and was alive in 1692, but the date of his death is not known. He was a skilled engraver in copper, and made many excellent portraits and etchings. The scene of the alleged Quaker meeting is a barn; but there are many details in it which make it a very unusual and probably imaginative picture, at least of the Quakers. It may truly represent a meeting of one of the many other sects contemporaneous with the early Friends in England; or even some persecuted religious scene abroad, perhaps among the Huguenots of France, or the Walloons of Holland.

In far distant Munich, in the Höch auction rooms, there was sold in 1892 another alleged but very different picture of a

Quaker meeting (see No. 18). It was at one time supposed that this picture came from Hamilton Palace, Glasgow, and that it was signed by "Egbert Heemskerck" and dated, London, 1690. But the unsigned and undated copy of it which now exists was presented in 1936 to Haverford College, Pennsylvania, having been procured from an art-dealing firm in Munich. It is quite unlike, in many particulars, the Heemskerk paintings and their engravings; but the dove above the preacher's head, and the shaft of light resting upon the occupants of the gallery, representing perhaps the Spirit and the Light, may give it some versimilitude of a Quaker meeting.

The far-reaching influence of Heemskerk's conception of a seventeenth-century Quaker meeting is illustrated by the fact that it evidently inspired an Italian artist of the next century. This was Alessandro Magnasco of Genoa and Florence, who turned from the painting of military scenes and carnival frolics to picture a "Quaker Sermon" (see No. 19). The sermon is being preached by a woman standing on a tub; and the picture thus preserves as its chief motif the earliest artistic conception of a Quaker meeting. Thus we see even in distant Italy a confirmation of the statement made at the beginning of the article, that Heemskerk's painting may well be called "the great historic picture of primitive Quakerism."

SOME QUESTIONS RELATIVE TO HEEMSKERK'S PICTURES OF QUAKER MEETINGS

John L. Nickalls, the Librarian of Friends' House, London, who kindly sent the author of this article photographs of the Heemskerk pictures preserved in Friends House, also raised the following questions and gave permission to have them accompany this article:

Are they really Quaker meetings at all? If so, how far do they convey the material circumstances and appearance of a Friends' meeting in the late seventeenth century?—The absence of orderly seating is obvious and contrary to our conception of a meeting house. But was the complete provision of benches a thing which came in the next generation? If the pictures are not true to facts, were the seats left out in the interests of composition? If so the pictures can hardly have been done for Friends, who would certainly have wanted true representation.—There is an air of caricature about many of the faces which argues against the picture's having been made for or used by Friends. If Heemskerk painted a whole

No. 16

Oil Painting (Friends House)

No. 17

Visscher's Engraving (Friends House)

No. 18

Oil Painting (Haverford College)

No. 19

Magnasco's Oil Painting (Uffizi Palace)

succession of caricatures, then was making fun of Quakers even more popular than we suppose? Presumably the pictures were made to sell.

Are they the only religious subjects of their general character or did the Dutch and English artists of the time paint other kinds of religious meetings? (I do not refer of course to the orthodox tradition of sacred art.) If they are a unique class, why are the Quakers pitched on for representation? Its members have been traditionally against pictures.— These alleged pictures of Quaker meetings seem to belong to a class of low comedy, caricature, drinking brawls, games, etc. The following are the subjects of the prints after Heemskerk (younger) in the British Museum, omitting the Quaker meetings: Bruising match; Backgammon; Card playing; Drinking (two); Smoking; Courting a woman drinking wine; A series of scenes in which all the figures are animals instead of people, viz., an orchestra, drinking in a cellar, quack surgeons, school, auction, brothels, recruiting soldiers, inn scene, midnight magistrate; Criminals confessing to a priest in prison (two); School scene (three).

I believe that an artist who would depict such scenes would not be one to paint Quaker meetings sympathetically or truthfully. The pictures must therefore surely be done, like some of the plays and other literature of the time, by and for those who simply thought Quakers were a good subject for jest—religious enthusiasts. This suggests that they are very poor representations of a meeting. Presumably the figures do represent the common people of the day.

A QUAKER LOYALIST AND GENERAL WASHINGTON

By Arthur J. Mekeel

THE FOLLOWING story was printed in the *Massachusetts Spy*, No. 360, March 26, 1778, pp. 2-3, whence it was copied by the Boston *Continantal Journal* for April 9, 1778. It no doubt indicates the generally suspicious attitude of the public toward the Quakers following the disclosure of the supposed treasonable activities of the Spanktown Yearly Meeting the preceding year. This latter episode was the cause of the sending of the Quaker Exiles into Virginia in the fall of 1777.

The dispatch is dated "Worcester March 26"; the following text is taken from the reprint in the *Continental Journal*:

BY SEVERAL gentlemen from the southward we have had the following story, viz. That a certain Quaker who professed great friendship for General Washington, often visited him and made presents to him of

poultry, butter, eggs, &c. and repeatedly invited the General to honor him with a visit, and take a dinner at his seat, which stood between Gen. Washington's encampment and the enemy: Gen. Washington at length accepted the invitation, and told the Quaker he would wait upon him to morrow; but suspecting some design, that evening ordered a party of his own troops (which were drest in the livery of King's troops) to march in the night and post themselves at a certain place between the Quaker's house and Gen. Howe's army, there to remain till further orders. The next day Gen. Washington with one of his Aide-de-Camps, visits the Quaker according to appointment, and was received to all outward appearance with great kindness and a hearty welcome; the Quaker excusing himself to the General told him he wanted to step out a few minutes, but should soon return, which he did: But while he was gone sent off one of his negroes post haste, with a letter, and directed the negro to give it to the first officer he could find belonging to General Howe. It seems the letter was to inform that Gen. Washington was at the said Quaker's without a guard, and that a party might easily take him, &c. The negro proceeded with the letter with all speed, and on his way meeting with a party of red coats, posted on the road by Gen. Washington's order, as before mentioned, and taking them to be a part of General Howe's troops, he gave the officer the letter, who immediately marched the party but kept the negro in the rear; when he arrived at the Quaker's seat, posted his men at a proper distance round the house, and went himself with a few chosen men and demanded of the Quaker, whether Gen. Washington was there, he answered "General Washington is not here," but at the same time pointed to the cellar door, where under pretence of fear the General had fled for safety: The officer with some others went into the cellar, seized the General and bro't him out with exultation: But it soon appeared to the Quaker that the General was in the hands of friends. The General enquired of the officer how he came by his knowledge that he was at that place; he answered, that that man, pointing to the Quaker, had sent a letter informing him of it, &c. the Quaker denied the whole, the negro was called, and declared his master sent him. But it seems some other intelligence had been sent to General Howe's army, for while these matters were in agitation, there appeared about forty of Howe's light horsemen, coming full speed, and Gen. Washington's men opened to the right and left and gave them a passage, but immediately closed and incircled them before they saw their mistake, and then a retreat was impracticable, and they were all obliged to surrender themselves prisoners. Gen. Washington's officers being highly incensed at this piece of treachery in the Quaker, gave orders for a gallows to be erected before his door and the Quaker to be hung immediately without further ceremony, which was accordingly done. And the General together with his friends returned to Head Quarters. Thus runs the account at present.

THE GERMANTOWN IMMIGRANTS OF 1683

By Wilhelm Hubben

IN No. 3, 1937, of the German Quarterly *Die Heimat*, published in Krefeld (Rhein), William T. Hull's *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania* is extensively reviewed by Pastor Dr. D. Cattepoel, (p. 122 ff). Cattepoel is most critical on that part of Hull's book which deals with the Krefeld immigrants, who are considered by Hull in repeated statements to be of Dutch and not of German origin and nationality. "It seems as if to him (Hull) German, Mennonite, Dutch, and Quaker are correlated (zusammengehörige) terms," says Cattepoel; and he suggests that the scope of Hull's study is too inclusive considering the title of his work, a criticism that seems to be pertinent in view of the fact that for example the Quakers from Kriegsheim and Danzig and the visits of Friends to Friends of the Quakers in other parts of Germany were included who could not by any possibility have been Dutch. The case of Krefeld, however, gives rise to doubts which deserve some re-examination.

Cattepoel believes that the cultural interchange between the Lower Rhine and the Netherlands always has been mutually enriching and has never been a one-sided gift of the Dutch to the Germans. Even today the name of the Dutch Reformed Church is "Nederduitsch (=Lower German) Hervormde Kerk." The Dutch National Hymn, from which according to Hull the German composer, Karl Wilhelm (a Krefeld citizen), took two bars, has the verse: "Wilhelmus von Nassauen I am of *duitschen* (=German) blood." Cattepoel finds it hard not to grow too angry when he states that Hull's tendency in "William Penn" is to minimize the share of the Germans in building up America. "The relationship [of German and Dutch cultures] comes exclusively from the fact that they are rooted in the great Lower-German Realm, in Low-German characteristics and language" (p. 123).

The problem, however, seems to be clarified by Hull's own statement (p. 178) that "geographically, the pioneers from Krefeld and Krisheim were Germans," whereas politically they were under Dutch rule at the time of their immigration. This Dutch rule lasted only a short time, and the Krefelders have

never under any other foreign ruler lost their keen awareness of belonging to the larger Germany although it did not exist at that time. Incidentally, the statement of Hull (p. 179) that the Krisheimers were Dutch, too, is misleading as it stands, and it has probably contributed to arouse the ire of his critic.

Cattepoel is appreciative of many of the data published in *William Penn* about the Krefelders. But he misses in his criticism a few good points. The very valuable marriage certificate in Dutch does not touch upon the argument in question; as one who was born and lived in Krefeld for thirty years I received an English written membership certificate from London Y. M. when I joined in 1923 because a German Y. M. did not yet exist then. Was the case not analogous in the seventeenth century? Furthermore, Cattepoel's defense of the Dutch-sounding names could have referred to the multitude of similar names in North Germany and Westphalia. Pastorius himself never characterized the Germantown immigrants as Dutch and it is quite improbable that a Dutch group would have been led by a (High-) German about whose nationality Hull has no doubts. *Seidensticker* and *Kapp* and the leading historian *Rembert,* whose work on the Anabaptists on the Lower Rhine is still a standard source of invaluable information and who is thoroughly familiar with Dutch sources, have never raised any doubts about the nationality of the immigrants. Ardent patriots as all of them are (I happen to be well acquainted with Dr. Rembert-Krefeld) they would find themselves in perfect agreement with Dr. Hull if he would phrase the sentence in dispute on p. 179: "In nationality, the Krefelders were *at the time of their immigration* Netherlanders." Finally, there seems to be a contradiction in Hull's statement that the immigrants were geographically German, politically Dutch, and Dutch also as to language, origin and custom.

At the meeting of the Directors of F. H. A. held April 7, 1938, there was an interested discussion of George S. Brooke's *Friend Anthony Benezet,* reviewed in the BULLETIN, Vol. 26, No. 1. It was pointed out that, like Hinshaw's *American Quaker Genealogy* (see p. 48), it is an outstanding contribution to Quakerism, accomplished at great financial sacrifice to the author. Members are heartily encouraged to purchase it for their libraries.

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS OR UNPUBLISHED

FOLLOWING a precedent started ten years ago (BULLETIN, XVII, 79f.) we publish below a list of recent studies either unfinished or unpublished on subjects of Quaker interest. Where the work is being prepared or has been accepted in partial requirement for a degree, the facts are noted, as also whatever plans for publication have been made. Further lists of this sort are likely to follow (it is hoped at shorter intervals than heretofore!). Information of other studies in progress should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge, Mass.

The citations include the following information to the extent that it is available: name and address of author; subject of study, with a further definition of its scope; whether a thesis for a degree, and if so, specification of university, department, degree, and date of previous acceptance or future submission; state of progress toward publication.

Lewis V. Benson, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa. (1) *Book of Meetings for Both Philadelphia Yearly Meetings.* (Editing and bringing up to date statistical and general information about each meeting, including historical sketches and a map.) To be published in Philadelphia, about September 1938. (2) *Source Book of Quakerism.* (Quotations from early Quaker writings, to 1720, giving the message of early Friends in their own words.)

Rebecca K. Bonner, Torresdale, Philadelphia, Pa. *A Bibliography of Job Scott, an Eighteenth Century Quaker, 1751-1793.* (Includes, as far as possible, all editions of any of his writings, and much of the literature about him.) Drexel Institute of Technology, essay in course, 1937. Completed, but additional material being added.

Carl Bridenbaugh, Department of History, Brown University, Providence, R. I. (1) *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742.* (Study of physical, economic, social, religious and cultural development of Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, and Charles Town, South Carolina. Awarded Justin Winsor Prize by American Historical Association, 1937.) Harvard, History, Ph.D. 1936. Ronald Press, New York, October, 1938. (2) Second volume in progress, covering period 1742-1776.

Anna Cox Brinton, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa. (1) *Spiritual Exercise in the Meeting for Worship.* (A compilation of evidence from Quaker journals.) Ready for publication in a Quaker periodical, 1938. (2) *Quaker Children's Books in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* (A descriptive list.) Material partly collected.

Howard H. Brinton, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa. (1) *Study Outline of the Theory and Method of the Quaker Meeting for Business.* Manuscript completed. To be published as a Pendle Hill pamphlet. (2) (Jointly with Clarissa Browning Brown): *The Quaker Journalist.* (A study of religious experience as recorded in Quaker autobiographies.)

Henry J. Cadbury, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge, Mass. (1) *The Annual Catalogue of George Fox.* (An edition of the MS. Catalogue prepared in 1694-8, omitting printed pieces and adding references to extant copies.) Friends Book Store, Philadelphia, 1938. Ready for press. (2) *Swarthmore MSS. in America.* (The text, with notes, of over thirty manuscripts formerly in the great collection at Swarthmore Hall, but now in America.) *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, London, 1938. Nearly ready for press. (3) *Quaker Relief during the Siege of Boston.* (A narrative of the organization by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of a relief fund distributed by New England Friends, with complete lists of beneficiaries.) *Publications of Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Boston, 1939. Completed. (4) *The Great Journal of George Fox and other Narrative Fragments.* (An edition of his Great Journal, his Book of Miracles, his History of Quakerism, and other unedited biographical pieces.) Cambridge University Press, England, 1939. Texts assembled; introductions and notes still to be written. (5) *Anthony Benezet, Unpublished Correspondence.* (A supplement to the recent biography by George S. Brookes.) Considerable material collected. (6) *Census of Lists of Visits of Publick Friends.* (Brief description of each known list of ministering Friends who visited a locality.) Information has been secured regarding fifty such lists.

Mary Campbell and Hazel Wigham, c/o J. Cuthbert Wigham, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N. W. 1., Eng. *Simplicity.* (A list of Friends' writings on plainness and simplicity, with representative quotations arranged chronologically.) Pendle Hill pamphlet, 1938. Quotations selected and bibliography nearing completion.

Meredith B. Colket, Jr., Post Office Box 6100, Washington, D. C. *The Passengers on the Ship Welcome.* (A biographical study of the individual passengers and account of their families.) To be published in Philadelphia, 1939. Considerable portion of data in manuscript.

William W. Comfort, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. *Stephen Grellet, 1773-1855.* (Working over Grellet manuscript material in Ridgway Library, Philadelphia.)

John Cox, Jr., 7 East 42nd Street, New York City. *John Bowne, Pioneer of Freedom.* (Study of the man and his time. Based largely on his unpublished Journal.) Ready for publication.

Robert H. Dann, 725 No. 29th Street, Corvallis, Oregon. *Sociological Study of Quaker Family Life.* (Historical tracing of changes which occurred at different times in the family customs and discipline of the Society of Friends, with special reference to family life.) Material largely collected.

Thomas E. Drake, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. (1) *Northern Quakers and Slavery.* (A study of the Quaker attitude toward slavery in the American Yearly Meetings north of the Potomac and the Ohio.) Yale, History, Ph.D. 1933. Yale University Press, 1939. Undergoing revision. (2) *Thomas Garrett, Abolitionist.* (A short study of Thomas Garrett's activities as an agent in the Underground Railroad.) To be published in a book gotten out by Friends of Wilmington, Delaware, in commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of Wilmington Meeting, 1938.

Ernest Earnest, Box 7, Bala-Cynwyd, Pa. *The Two Bartrams: A Chapter in the Cultural History of America.* (An attempt to discover how eighteenth-century America produced a scientist, and a writer, with international reputations.) Princeton, English, Ph.D. 1936.

Henry van Etten, Villa Colette, Montmorency (S-et-O), France. *Histoire des Quakers français du XVIII^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours.* (Consists of 300 typewritten pages, with about 40 illustrations.) To be published in Paris, 1938.

Clifford Ball Freeman, 63 Church Street, Church Gresley, Burton-on-Treat, England. *Quaker Origins: a Chronological Bibliography up to the End of 1656.* (A record of the writings of early Friends, with frequent references to anti-Quaker writings. Will have a complete index.) Material collected and manuscript in preparation.

Edwin W. Gunberg, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. *A Critical Examination of the Influence of Swedenborg on Whittier and His Contemporaries.* University of Iowa, School of Religion, M.A. 1937.

Dorothy G. Harris, 6441 Morris Park Road, Overbrook, Phila., Pa. *History of Friends' Libraries in America.* (Special emphasis on libraries established by local meetings for the spiritual and educational welfare of the members.) Drexel Institute of Technology, Library School, B.S. 1937. Undergoing revision.

C. E. Haworth, Mystic, Iowa. *The Origin of Quakerism as a Sectarian Social Movement.* University of Iowa, Sociology, M.A. 1933.

Alexander H. Hay, Route #2, West Hill, Ontario, Canada. *Rise of the Pastoral System.* (A study of the paid pastorate in the Society of Friends, 1850-*ca.* 1900.) Haverford, History, M.A. 1938.

David E. Henley, Whittier College, Whittier, Cal. *Creative Peace-Making in the Society of Friends.* (A study of the evolution of the peace-making method in the Society, as seen in war, slavery, industry, the home, education, politics, etc.) University of Southern California, Sociology, Ph.D. 1935. Undergoing revision.

Guy Franklin Hershberger, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana. *Quaker Pacifism and the Provincial Government.* University of Iowa, History, Ph.D. 1935.

Murray Gardner Hill, 20 Oak Knoll Gardens, Pasadena, California. *Mary Rotch: Friend of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Margaret Fuller.* (A short biographical study of Mary Rotch of New Bedford, one of the prominent Friends who made a profound impression upon Emerson's thought and philosophy.) Manuscript completed.

Walter J. Homan, San Francisco State College, San Francisco, Cal. *Children and Quakerism.* Yale, Ph.D. 1934.

Wilhelm Hubben, George School, Pa. (1) *Quietism in Public Opinion of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Germany.* To be published in the BULLETIN, Autumn 1938. (2) Collecting miscellaneous notes and material relating to Quaker influences in Russia.

William I. Hull, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. *The History of Quakerism in Holland.* (Biographical and historical, 1655-1851.) To be completed in twelve monographs, probably by 1942. Three monographs already published and two more in manuscript.

C. B. Jarard, New Sharon, Iowa. *Pennsylvania Quakers and the Problem of War, 1740-1756.* University of Iowa, History, M.A. 1928.

Ethel Irene Jensen, 212 E. Court Street, Harlan, Iowa. (A study concerning war and peace, exact title not yet determined. Part I, causes, costs and nature of war; Part II, world-wide peace efforts.)

Joseph E. Johnson, 4 Chapin Court, Williamstown, Mass. *The Life of James Logan, 1674-1751.* (A study of the leading figure in the political, economic and intellectual life of Pennsylvania in the period, 1701-1740.) Harvard, History, Ph.D.

Ethyn W. Kirby (Mrs. C. H.), c/o Brown University, Providence, R. I. *George Keith, 1638-1716.* (A full-length biography.)

Joseph J. McCadden, Hunter College, New York City. *The Story of the American Ventures of Joseph Lancaster, Founder of the Lancasterian*

Monitorial System. (Based on newly discovered manuscript material. His ventures in the United States, Canada, and South America.) Publication planned for 1938 or early 1939. Material partly completed.

Arthur J. Mekeel, South Ashfield, Mass. *The Quakers in the American Revolution.* Harvard, History, Ph.D. Considerable material collected.

Jesse Merritt, Bethpage, Long Island, N. Y. (1) *Travels of Elias Hicks.* (A collating and indexing of the journal of Hicks.) (2) *Quaker Artists.* (Biographical sketches of Benjamin West, Howard Pyle, Joseph Pennell, Edward Hicks, and others.)

Robert H. Morgan, The Hill School, Pottstown, Pa. *Literary History of the Friends in America to 1815.* (Although this study was started before the publication of Wright, *The Literary Life of the Early Friends, 1650-1725* (N. Y., Columbia Univ. Press, 1932), it will, in a way, be a continuation of Miss Wright's book.) Harvard, English, Ph.D. 1939. Work well under way.

Charles R. Murphy (deceased), *The Inward Traveller: An Anthology of Quaker Thought.* (Extracts from Quaker writings of religious or literary value.) Typewritten copy of completed manuscript at Pendle Hill.

Ruth Anna (Ketring) Nuermberger, Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina. *The Free Produce Movement.* (A comprehensive study of this aspect of Friends' opposition to slavery.) Manuscript will probably be completed in about three years.

Margaret Ethel O'Neil, 1 Langdon Street, Madison, Wisconsin. *Anthony Benezet, Humanitarian.* (Biography based on manuscript and printed sources.) University of Chicago, Social Sciences, M.A. 1935.

David Parsons, Pawhuska, Oklahoma. (1) *Osage Removal.* (Removal of Osage Indians from Kansas to Indian Territory. Material gathered from various sources, including the diaries of Quaker Indian agents.) Oklahoma University, History, Ph.D. To be published by Oklahoma University Press, 1938 or spring of 1939. (2) Editing of six-volume diary of the Quaker Isaac T. Gibson, U. S. Indian Agent for the Osages and Freedmen's Agent for the State of Missouri.

John A. Pollard, 3439 Indian Road, Ottawa Hills, Toledo, Ohio. *Whittier's Early Years, 1807-1836.* (A definitive biography.) Yale, English, Ph.D. 1937.

John Pomfret, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. *West Jersey before the Revolution.* (Large portion devoted to the activities of the Quakers in New Jersey.) Princeton University Press, 1939. About half of the work completed.

Edward O. Purtee, Adult Evening School, Ohio State University,

Columbus, Ohio. *Underground Railroad.* (From the Ohio River to Lake Erie.) Ohio State University, Graduate School, Ph.D. 1933.

Marion Nicholl, East Alstead, New Hampshire. (1) *Quaker Artists in America.* (2) *The Home Life of Friends during the Early Centuries of America.* (Material being collected on both the above subjects.)

Grace B. Sherrer, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio. *Francis Mercury Van Helmont, His Personality and Influence.* (Complete organization of all facts and study of background.) Western Reserve University, English, Ph.D. 1937.

Eleanor C. Slater, 94 Bellevue Drive, Rochester, New York. *Mysticism in American Literature.* (From its origins to the present, with greatest emphasis on the nineteenth century. The significance of Quaker influence on American religious and literary tradition will be stressed.) Radcliffe College, English, Ph.D. Work started.

Garland Miller Taylor (Mrs. John E.), Lucas, Iowa. *Quaker Ideas in the Writing of Charles Brockden Brown, Michael-Guillaume Jean de Crevecoeur, and Thomas Paine, before 1800.* University of Iowa, English, M.A. 1927.

Altha Elizabeth Terry, 320 South Hall, Columbia University, New York City. *Giles Calvert, Mid-Seventeenth Century English Bookseller and Publisher; An Account of His Publishing Career, with a Checklist of His Imprints.* (The checklist of over 600 entries includes a good many Quaker items.) Columbia University, Library School, M.S. 1937.

Doran Tharp, Lomax, Illinois. *Quakerism in the Poetry of John Greenleaf Whittier.* University of Iowa, English, M.A. 1930.

Frederick B. Tolles, 9 Dana Street, Cambridge, Mass. *Liberal Quakerism in New England in the Early 1820's.* (An investigation of the New Light movement among Friends in New Bedford, Lynn, and elsewhere.) Work just commenced.

D. Elton Trueblood, Stanford University, California. (1) *Walt Whitman's Quaker Hero.* (A life of Elias Hicks, with special reference to his influence on the method and message of Whitman as a poet.) Manuscript almost completed. (2) *The Veracity of Religious Experience.* (Swarthmore Lecture of 1939.) To be published in London, May 1939.

Julia M. Pharr Tucker, Boyolton, Virginia. *The Policies of the Society of Friends in Negro Education.* (Traces the underlying policies and the work of Friends in behalf of Negro education in America, from the seventeenth to the twentieth century.) Howard University, Education, M.A. 1937.

Cecil B. Williams, 1645 West 105th Street, Chicago, Illinois. *Whittier's "Leaves from Margaret Smith's Journal" as a Medium for Expressing*

Whittier's Views on Quakerism. (This study covers thirteen pages of a doctoral dissertation entitled *The Historicity of Whittier's "Leaves from Margaret Smith's Journal."*) University of Chicago, English, Ph.D. 1933. Part of the thesis published by the University of Chicago Library, but not the portion including a discussion of Quakerism.

Stephen Clarence Williams, Stennett, Iowa. *Religious and Social Practices of the Quakers of Pennsylvania, 1681-1725.* University of Iowa, History, M.A. 1934.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Eternal Gospel, by Rufus M. Jones. The Macmillan Co. 1938. 235 pp. $2.00.

THIS book is the first volume to appear in *The Great Issues of Life Series,* of which Rufus Jones himself is editor. A large portion of it was given as lectures at Pendle Hill in January, 1938. Our most widely read Quaker author here maintains his place as master of a type of religious literature for which there is real need and a wide demand today, a type which is primarily devotional, slightly philosophical, and illuminated with striking illustrations which make abstract conceptions both concrete and palatable to average minds. *The Eternal Gospel* is the gospel which Rufus Jones has preached in all his books; it is a gospel which can not be preached too often in a day when men are so occupied with the temporal that the eternal is ignored. This is a gospel of the Spirit which is "the active self-revelation of God to and through our minds." The spiritual comes into "the temporal process as a new and subtle elevation of what was there before." Each chapter of the book is devoted to one of the several ways in which this time-transcending reality breaks into time. The vehicles of its revelation are the cosmic processes, the subliminal life, the events of history (and particularly that supreme event recorded in the New Testament), the Church, great literature, the way of the mystics, and the way of the mind. The author maintains throughout an even balance between the extremes naturalism and supernaturalism, conservation and change. In dealing with such opposites as optimism and pessimism, and progress and retrogression, we find that he leans decidedly toward optimism and progress. *The Eternal Gospel* may seem to some to minimize the importance of the historical gospel, but in this particular it is not different from some of the greatest of Christian writings, including the gospel of John. Because many men today are not so optimistic or so confident of progress as Rufus Jones, they are losing hope of winning a victory over the temporal and they turn to the Eternal for help. Such a book as this will forward them in their search.

HOWARD H. BRINTON.

Werdendes Quäkertum, by Theodor Sippell. Verlag W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1937. 262 pp. 13.50 Mark.

THIS searching piece of original investigation was undertaken by the leading German Protestant authority on the history of Quakerism and with the support of the semiofficial "Notgemeinschaft deutscher Wissenschaft." H. Weingarten's *Die Revolutionskirchen Englands* (Leipzig, 1868) opened up the road for German church historians into this field in which Sippell's *Zur Vorgeschichte des Quäkertums* (Giessen, 1920) and a number of essays together with the present study represent memorable contributions. The limited scope of this latest research and its far-reaching possibilities make us hope—and the author suggests it himself—that Sippell's work will be continued by future publications.

Sippell analyzes for the first time John Everard's sermons which determined to such a great extent the development of Quaker mysticism. The second contribution to the formation of early Quakerism is considered by the author to be the sermons of Roger Brereley, the "only genuine disciple of Luther in England." And interesting lights of numerous spiritual relations between Nikolaus Cusanus and Caspar Schwenckfeld complete to some degree the graphic picture of the prodigious flow of forces streaming into the thinking of our spiritual forefathers. This study is essentially a "geistesgeschichtliche Studie"; historical and political events are followed only to the point leading into a spiritual interpretation of those revolutionary events which uprooted English Protestantism. Quakerism is analyzed as a synthesis of the pure mysticism of John Everard (who translated Sebastian Franck's *De Arbore* which Sippel, as he writes, discovered as the first among Fox's library) and of prophetism. According to Sippell, such a synthesis was only possible because the Friends felt their mission to be the one of the Latter Day Saints. Their testimony, their theology and, of course, their organization and customs have undergone considerable changes. But what remained essentially unchanged throughout the times is their testimony to the freedom of conscience, a concern that has had to change its points of attack but is still forceful.

Sippell's study is a novel and most valuable contribution to the history of the spiritual reformers and the religious ancestry of the Society of Friends. The picture is still by no means complete but the traditional view receives a wholesome corrective by this work of an outsider who is a master of authoritative information. The author's admiration for the Friends is most agreeably balanced by frank criticism, and we can only hope that Sippell's comprehensive research may lead towards the much needed accumulation of further data from which some day a well rounded genesis of the thought and practice of the Quakers can be written. The larger part of the book consists of English texts which are not easily accessible, a circumstance which, incidentally, makes the approach of English speaking readers to the work somewhat easier.

WILHELM HUBBEN.

Amelia, the Tale of a Plain Friend, by Jacobine Menzies-Wilson and Helen Lloyd. Oxford University Press, New York, 1937. xii+300 pp. Illustrated. $5.00.

Two Quaker Sisters. From the Original Diaries of Elizabeth Buffum Chace and Lucy Buffum Lovell. With an Introduction by Malcolm R. Lovell; Foreword by Rufus M. Jones. New York, Liveright, 1937. xxx+183 pp. Illustrated.

THESE two books form a welcome addition to a group including Janet Whitney's *Elizabeth Fry* and *South after Gettysburg: Letters of Cornelia Hancock from the Army of the Potomac, 1863-1865*, which give to the present generation a personal glimpse into the lives of significant Quaker women. For all these books are based on a study of the most intimate sort of documents—personal letters and diaries.

Amelia (Alderson) Opie, though her book purports to tell the tale of a plain Friend, did not join the Society till she had reached her fifty-sixth year; yet she knew Friends all her life, and was particularly intimate with Joseph John Gurney and his illustrious sister, Elizabeth Fry. Her special gift was for making and keeping friends; and a record of her life inevitably throws light on her contemporaries. Thus we find in this volume an account of doings in the Gurney household which charmingly complements the story told by Janet Whitney, and we become aware of a romantic attachment for the solid Joseph John that survived his three marriages, an attachment which hovered on the edge of Mrs. Grundy's ideas of propriety, and is not so much as mentioned in Braithwaite's *Memoirs*. But we see others, of the gay world; for Mrs. Opie was by way of being quite the rage in the social whirl of London and of Paris. She married the painter, John Opie, who at his death was buried in Saint Paul's Cathedral, not far from Sir Joshua Reynolds; knew William Godwin, Mrs. Siddons, Thomas Holcroft, Mary Wollstonecraft, Charles James Fox, General Lafayette, the sculptor David d'Angers; and she met Napoleon, General Kosciuszko, Sir Walter Scott, and Marie-Amélie, the ex-Queen of the French. She was an indefatigable letter-writer, and apparently beloved wherever she went. She wrote novels which in their time had wide popularity, though upon her joining the Society of Friends she ceased busying herself with fiction.

The book which tells of these contacts through a long life—Amelia died at the age of eighty-one—and of Amelia's own joys and sorrows is charmingly written, and hard to lay down when once begun. It is the kind of book that the layman reads and enjoys, and that the sober historian of Quakerism, or of the period of Amelia's life, needs for the sympathetic insight it gives into the life and manners of the times.

THE DIARIES of the Buffum sisters do not show the conscious artistry of the preceding, for they were not written for publication, but for the kind of edification that many serious-minded persons, and

especially Friends of the last century, derived from ordering their thoughts into a narrative of the events of their lives. Mr. Lovell's Introduction, in fourteen pages, gives something of the background and genealogy of the family; and the first narrative, that of Elizabeth Buffum Chace, written in her ninety-first year, tells in reminiscence of the childhood of this Rhode Island and Connecticut girl in a setting that reminds us of Whittier's *Snowbound.* The second part is more characteristically a diary, by Lucy Buffum Lovell, written under various dates from 1840 to 1843, and telling principally of the childhood illnesses and deaths of her three children—indeed a loving and pathetic narrative. The third part contains the reminiscences of Elizabeth Buffum Chace on the antislavery activities of her family and of the Quakers, beginning with the confession: "I am ashamed to say that my early Quaker ancestors in Newport, Rhode Island, were interested in the slave trade," continuing through the narrative of the opposition of Friends to antislavery activities, of the founding of the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1832, of her experiences in connection with the underground railway, including a long interpolated narrative of the escape of James Curry, a Negro, from North Carolina to Canada, of her resignation from membership in the Society of Friends because of the Quaker proslavery attitude, of her visit to John Brown of Harper's Ferry, in prison, with a brief reference to the Civil War and the moral relations between the antislavery cause and the cause of woman suffrage. It is a personal narrative of extraordinary interest, and, like other diaries of persons who interested themselves in public questions rather than in introspection, a valuable representative of one of the best sources of historical research.

New Sweden on the Delaware, by Christopher Ward. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938. viii+160 pp. $1.50.

THIS retelling of the story of the Swedish colony on the Delaware River, from 1638 to 1655, consists of extracts, with some alterations, of the same author's larger book, *The Dutch and the Swedes on the Delaware, 1609-64,* reviewed in the BULLETIN, Vol. 22 (1933), No. 1. It is issued in separate form with particular reference to the approaching celebration of the 300th anniversary of the first Swedish settlement, to be held in Wilmington, Delaware, on June 27, 1938. The story is prefaced by an analysis of conditions in Sweden which led to the colonizing impulse, including a brief sketch of the great warrior and statesman Gustavus Adolphus, and by an interesting account of the conditions in America to which the settlers came. The first struggles, the rule of the incredible Governor Printz and of his successor Governor Rising, the opposition of the Dutch of New Amsterdam under the redoubtable Stuyvesant, and the final surrender of Swedish control to the Dutch (who themselves were obliged to surrender to the English a few years later) are narrated with spirit

and humor. The lively interest which we of today have in the episode rises not because there was a Swedish government, for this passed entirely away, but because many of the Swedish settlers remained, and their descendants preserve the traditions of their time of ascendancy. The book will prove an interesting narrative and an appropriate memorial volume for the tricentennial celebration.

ITEMS FROM QUAKER PERIODICALS

H. T. BUTCHER has a note on Quaker anniversaries for 1938 in the issue of the London *Friend* for 1 Mo. 28, pp. 78-80. They include centenaries of the death of Joseph Lancaster, founder of the "Lancasterian" system of education; of the publication of Henry Doubleday's *A Nomenclature of British Birds;* and of the disownment of Joshua Jacob of Dublin, who founded a short-lived group called the "White Quakers." Among the bicentenaries of the year are the birth of Benjamin West, the painter, and the retirement of James Logan as governor of Pennsylvania.

JOHN COX, JR., submits excerpts from letters of Elizabeth Bunting of New York City, written in 1864. They describe a New York "Sanitary Fair," in which many Friends took part to raise funds for the Sanitary Commission. *Friends Intelligencer*, 4 mo. 2, 1938, pp. 233-4.

WHAT Is Needed in Quaker History, by Elbert Russell, gives a brief survey of histories of Quakerism, classified as "general histories," or large works inclusive of the movement as a whole, and "brief histories" (often however several hundred pages long), dealing briefly with the whole movement, or with special periods. The article concludes: "There is an unfilled place . . . for a comprehensive treatment in compact form of all branches, periods, activities, and developments of the Society. This would be useful not only for general readers but also for young people's and adult classes, for college students, for persons who have recently joined Friends and for those who have become interested in the Society through its postwar activities." The Editor adds that Elbert Russell and his son, Josiah C. Russell, expect to produce such a work in a single volume of perhaps four hundred pages. *The Friend* (Philadelphia), 3 mo. 24, 1938, pp. 352-53.

IN *What is Quaker Literature,* Richard C. Brown, who is compiling a bibliography of Quaker literature for the American Friends Service Committee, discusses the wide range of writings which relate more or less directly to Quakerism. Expositions of Quakerism and religious journals and memoirs are most common. Quaker plays are almost nonexistent. Good Quaker poetry is scanty, but novels about Quakers are quite numerous. *The Friend* (Philadelphia), 5 mo. 5, 1938, pp. 409-10.

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF QUAKER GENEALOGY

THE Directors of Friends' Historical Association voted, at the meeting of April 4, 1938, to subscribe to William Wade Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy,* although the Association maintains no library, and in general avoids the purchase of books. The Directors' action was both a means of giving financial support to one of the great historical undertakings of present-day Quakerism, and, perhaps more significantly, an expression of their interest and moral backing.

Advertisements of the second volume of this great work are already appearing—send $15.00, pre-publication price (regular retail price, $20.00), to the Friends Book and Supply House, 101 South 8th Street, Richmond, Indiana, and secure a subscription copy. The book had not appeared as the BULLETIN goes to press, or we should have presented a review of it; but with the first volume before us, and the second outlined in the prospectuses, we get an idea of the magnitude and character of the proposed series.

The past practices of the Friends in keeping careful records of births, marriages, and deaths, and also of removals to and from their meetings, makes the minute books of monthly meetings a gold mine of historical and specifically genealogical information from Colonial days down to the present, both here and abroad—for immigrating Quakers often brought certificates with them.

The first volume of the proposed series has over 1,200 large pages, with the index (indispensable in such a work); it covers the minutes of the thirty-three oldest meetings in the North Carolina Yearly Meeting. The records from each monthly meeting (some of which are in Tennessee and Virginia), are preceded by a brief historical sketch, itself a valuable addition to Quaker history. The second volume will be about as large, and will cover the Monthly Meetings of Salem, New Jersey; Burlington, New Jersey; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Falls, Pennsylvania—an area rich in Quaker history.

These are large and costly volumes, and the casual reader may pass them by. But libraries can hardly afford to be without them, whether their patrons are Quakers or not; for "the ancestors of several millions of present-day Americans" are listed; and his-

torians, and historical societies, as well as individuals whose interests run along historical or genealogical lines, will soon learn to regard them as indispensable.

This is the sort of undertaking ordinarily sponsored by a large and wealthy society, or by a foundation; in this case the original impulse, the driving force and organizing genius, and much of the money, have come from one Friend. The Friends' Historical Association may rejoice that such a Friend was to be found.

NOTES

THE Centenary Fund of Friends' Central School, Philadelphia, has published (dated 1938) a history of the school, using as basic text a narrative of the foundation and development of the school by Joseph E. Haines, then on the faculty, originally published in 1892-23 in five issues of the newly started school paper, the *Blue and Gray*, and now reprinted with a few notes. The volume contains 57 pages, and is attractively printed by "several friends of the school" as a contribution to the Centenary Fund, illustrated with a facsimile reproduction of the original editorial page of Vol. 1, No. 6 of the *Blue and Gray,* in which the first part of the history appeared. The *History* outlines antecedent conditions, touches discreetly upon the separation and the retention by the Orthodox Friends of the established school properties of the Society, and the early difficulties encountered in establishing a school for the education of children whose parents were not in sympathy with the Orthodox body. Two elementary schools, one for boys and one for girls, in different parts of the same building, were opened in 1835, on a site on Fourth Street above Cherry, then the center of the residential district; ten years later money was raised by private subscription for a building to be used for a high school, and Friends' Central School was formally opened here on September 1, 1845; in 1857 a new building was erected on Fifteenth Street, adjoining the Race Street Meeting House; and in 1925, as we are informed in the notes (for the *History* as originally written does not come down later than 1892), a third site was developed on the City Line at Sixty-eighth Street, in Overbrook.

The notes, by Richmond Pearson Miller, do much to increase the interest and usefulness of the *History,* particularly by giving biographical data about many of the early workers at the school, and by following out some of the statements and allusions to their developments in the years since Joseph E. Haines wrote his original article.

GEORGE DECOU, from whose pen we published in the last issue of the BULLETIN an article on Burlington, New Jersey, entitled *A Forgotten Meeting House,* has published three *Historical Sketches* in pamph-

let form, two of *Mount Holly and Vicinity,* in 1936, and one of *Rancocas and Neighborhood,* in 1937. The Mount Holly pamphlets, each of twenty-four pages, cover the pioneering settlers and early industries and religious organizations, and contain an essay on Woolman and John Brainerd. The Rancocas pamphlet, also of twenty-four pages, contains various essays on Woolman and Woolman-Land. All three pamphlets are reprinted from the Mount Holly *Herald.*

The same author has also been working on a series of historical sketches of old Burlington City, which are now about ready for the printer.

THE Frankford Historical Society has recently issued (1937) Vol. 3, No. 5, of its publications. The preface explains that its last general publication (Vol. 3, No. 1) was issued in 1924, since when three individual biographical numbers have appeared as continuing parts of that volume, devoted to Franklin Smedley, Thomas Creighton, and George Smedley Webster respectively. The present number has some sixty-five pages, with a frontispiece showing the beautiful building of the Society, dedicated on December 10, 1930; and contains six historical articles and the annual reports for the years 1923-1929 inclusive. Members of Friends' Historical Association recall with pleasure their visit to this building on the occasion of the annual meeting held 11 mo. 29, 1937.

IN CONNECTION with the appearance of the seventeen-year locusts in 1936, Henry Ferris sent to the Editor an interesting quotation from the diary of one Andres Hesselius, which he had received from Dr. Samuel C. Rumford, of Wilmington, Delaware. Andres Hesselius was sent from Sweden in charge of Old Swedes Church, Wilmington, between 1712 and 1724. He kept a diary in which he recorded observations made on American soil and while crossing the ocean; and he noted particularly, and with much accuracy, the appearance of locusts in great numbers at the end of the Fifth Month, 1715, finishing his notes as follows:

> If the visionary spirits of the Quakers here in Pennsylvania, could, with moderation, contemplate the Lord's wonderful mightiness in regard to the emerging of these insects out of the ground, they should never with such a pertinacity renounce the possibility of resurrection, by which they are making themselves the most noxious vermin in all America.

We may observe that the interval from 1715 to 1936 is 221 years, which is exactly thirteen times seventeen, so that thirteen cycles of locusts have passed since his observations and our last serious swarms. One wonders which visionary Quakers Hesselius talked with, to gain the impression that the Quakers "renounced the possibility of resurrection."

THE Chester County Historical Society, one of whose active members, J. Carroll Hayes, is also a member of our Board of Directors, has now moved into its new home, originally known as Horticultural Hall,

Building of the Chester County Historical Society (Pennsylvania):
from the Architect's Drawing

on North High Street, West Chester, Pennsylvania. The house warming occurred on April 2, 1938, with appropriate ceremonies; and the Society's not inconsiderable treasures, augmented under the influence of a place for preserving them, are now on convenient display.

BRIEFER NOTICES

THE *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for March, 1938, contains an article of thirty pages by Franklin F. Holbrook on the history of that Society, the forerunner of which was founded in 1834, in Pittsburgh. Such societies, even though not under Quaker auspices, often preserve material of interest to Quaker historians. This is clearly seen in the historical societies of eastern Pennsylvania, where the Quaker traditions are strong.

In the *Indiana Magazine of History*, vol. 32 (1936), pp. 266-274, Amos W. Butler has published from a manuscript at Friends Meeting House, Bristol, England, *Some Account of a visit of divers Friends made to the Indians at the time of the Treaty at Easton*, 1761. Beside the anonymous author, Susannah (Lightfoot) Hatton, Susannah Brown and other Friends were present at the visit.

Beside her full-dress volume, *Guilford: A Quaker College*, Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert has published a description of the materials on the history of the College of the Society of Friends in North Carolina in the Guilford College Historical Collection (*Guilford College Bulletin*, XXX, 3: March, 1937).

Medical Classics, vol. 1, no. 7 (March, 1937, pp. 731-770), contains a biography and bibliography of Thomas Hodgkin (1798-1866) with a portrait and a reprint of the paper issued in 1832 *On Some Morbid Appearances of the Absorbent Glands and Spleen* from which was derived the name Hodgkin's disease. Of his personal character we read: "Hodgkin, who always appeared in the Quaker dress, was a philanthropist and reformer by nature. He was not successful in private practice because of his carelessness in collecting fees and eccentric independence of spirit."

Whittier's *The Demon Lady* is printed in full by T. Franklin Currier in *The New England Quarterly*, vol. X (1937), since a reviewer of his recent bibliography asserted that Motherwell was the author. The poems have the same name, but Whittier's is entirely different. It has been printed only once before (privately in 1894).

An Early Quaker Anti-Slavery Statement, published by Henry J. Cadbury in the *Journal of Negro History*, XXII, 488-493 (October, 1937), gives the text of a curious paper by Robert Pile in 1698, together with some introductory comment about this Concord, Pennsylvania, settler and his views on slavery.

A pamphlet in the *International Peace Series* (No. 15, 1937) by William I. Hull on *Imperialism, Armaments, War, and our American Solution* is issued by the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches.

In the *Publications of the Cambridge Historical Society*, XXIV, 67-82 (Proceedings for the Years 1936 and 1937), is printed a paper by Henry J. Cadbury on *Early Quakers at Cambridge.* Beside scattered references to the Massachusetts visitors and their opponents, the original accounts by Elizabeth Hooton and her son Samuel are fully quoted.

The Journal of a Quaker Maid, published in the Virginia Quarterly Review, XI, 61-81 (January, 1935), is the diary for May to December, 1853, of Mary Haines Harker, printed from the manuscript now in the possession of Rosalie Slaughter Norton of Winter Park, Fla. It is a gay story of a trip to Virginia given to the Mt. Holly girl as a reward for her having graduated with high marks at St. Mary's Hall, Burlington, New Jersey.

In the *Hibbert Journal* for 1937 appeared two articles about Americans with Quaker connections. One was by J. M. Connell entitled *Thomas Paine—The Man as He Was: a Bicentenary Notice, 1737-1809* (pp. 213ff.); the other by Muriel Kent on Jane Addams, 1860-1935.

In *Pennsylvania History* for October, 1936 (III, 225-239), Joseph J. McCadden, using again the Vaux papers (cf. BULLETIN 25:21ff.) tells the story of *Joseph Lancaster and the Philadelphia Schools*, an abortive participation by the English Quaker educator in 1818-19 in the local model-school movement.

In the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* for October, 1936 (X, 187-221) appears an article by Guy F. Hershberger on *The Pennsylvania Quaker Experiment in Politics, 1682-1756.* This article is only the basis of a fuller treatment in book form. Its position is that of the objector to both political and military service by religious groups.

A brief original article by Marc A. Rose in *The Reader's Digest*, vol. 32, no. 190 (February, 1938), characterizes effectively contemporary social efforts of American Friends under the title *They Call Themselves Friends.*

Kimball C. Elkins published an illustrated article in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, vol. 39, no. 19, for Feb. 12, 1937, on *Quakeriana in the Harvard College Library.*

The Rhode Island Historical Society Collections for January, 1937 (vol. XXX, no. 1) includes articles by Caroline Hazard on *Records of Narragansett Weather, 1797 to 1802*, kept by some of her Quaker forebears, and a discussion of the ancestry of the husband of Mary Dyer by William Allan Dyer, entitled *William Dyer, a Rhode Island Dissenter—From Lincoln or Somerset?*

No. 20

Oil Painting Attributed to Heemskerk
(Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College)